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Interactions and Contradictions of Preservation and Modernization:
The case of Isfahan, Iran

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**Interactions and Contradictions of Preservation and Modernization:
The case of Isfahan, Iran**

by

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Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Austin
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Science in Historic Preservation

**The University of Texas at Austin
May 2014**

Abstract

Interactions and Contradictions of Preservation and Modernization: The case of Isfahan, Iran

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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This Thesis addresses the meaning, the origins, and the formation of preservation in Isfahan, Iran, in relation to the state's modernization process. In the course of this narrative the internal and external forces stemming from the interaction and contradiction between local and global values, traditionalism and modernism, their advocates, and the changeful socio-political geography of place within a fast process of urban development will be discussed to answer the question. The findings show that in contrast to the formation of preservation within and through a course of modernism movement in West—although first opposed and then integral to modernism— in Iran, generally, and Isfahan, particularly, this is the preservation's thought which develops modernism—first integral and then opposed to preservation. The findings suggest that preservation and modernization in Iran interact with each other through three main conduits. These include tomb architecture, industrialization of the city, and the imported modernism mainly through American urban plans. In the case of tomb architecture we observe an interaction

between modernization and preservation, while as in the case of other two subjects the contradiction is more dominant. This contradiction, however, as we explore in Pahlavi II founded and developed the theory and practice of preservation in Iran. The focus of the current study is on Isfahan which distinguishes it from other similar studies on Iran.

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: Literature Review: *The Discourse on Preservation, Modernization, and Their Relationship*

The discourse of the relationship between modernization and preservation in western literature is rather extensive; however narrowing the focus to developing countries, the lack of this review is understandable. Here through a literature review I will try to explore the meaning of the major components which constitute this relationship. This includes “destruction” and “memory”, two controversial terms that usually follow the term “place.”

“The critical dynamic of urban life is the internal destruction and rebuilding of the city: an urban development process whose central force is not simple expansion and growth but rather a chaotic process of destruction and rebuilding.”¹ This is how Max Page describes a theory of creative destruction in urban development, and parallels this destructive concept with other forces which accompanied that: Real estate market, preservation, slum clearance, urban infrastructures, and political issues. All of these somehow seek their meanings in a bipolar environment which is defined around the concepts of preservation and modernization, while their interactions and contradictions expand or confine the influence of each one.

As Michael Holleran maintains this continues until the changeful meaning of city building is superseded by a permanent one and then by a controlled version of change.² In fact, Holleran argues that preservation is a product of the modern era, when the community seeks a movement reacting to unprecedented industrialization and urban

¹ Max Page, *The Creative Destruction Of Manhattan, 1900-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999):2.

² Michael Holleran, *Boston's Changeful Times: Origins of Preservation and Planning in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

change in the mid-nineteenth century to find out how it can find some piece of permanence or controlled permanence/change to base the memory of place on that. In other words the community is seeking that type of “curatorial management”³ that Fitch talks about and Lowenthal insinuates when it will be achieved: “we value our heritage most when it seems at risk; threats of loss engender stewardly fervor.”⁴ We may say this stewardship fervor and heritage risk generate a mutual relationship which shapes modernization and preservation in the city’s environment.

This mutual relationship is what Randall Mason claims by basing his thesis on the fact that not only preservation is not a product of reaction against modernity but also “preservation was imagined as an integral part of modernity and modernizing cities.”⁵ He extends that “Preservation is a product of its times, and interpretations of the past are contested.”⁶ Mason applies this to claim his own interpretation of preservation in a modern context. In his view reformers in New York were more interested in keeping a collective history of the city than restoring the significant building’s preservation. Here preservation is translated as creating a “memory infrastructure”⁷ for future development which can even come out of the struggles over cases such as the destruction of St. John’s Chapel. Granted Mason’s time-dependent definition of preservation, we should expect different interpretations of preservation through the time while changes occur in the

³ James Marston Fitch, *Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1982)

⁴ David Lowenthal, “The Heritage Crusade and its Contradictions”, *Giving Preservation a History: histories of historic preservation in the United States*, ed. Max Page and Randall Mason (New York: Routledge, 2004):31.

⁵ Randall Mason, *The Once and Future New York: Historic Preservation And The Modern City* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009): x.

⁶ Ibid. xi.

⁷ Ibid. x.

socio-political features of place. For instance, the change of regimes through the time can lead to different interpretations of preservation as we explore in next chapters.

The perception of preservation meaning based on our explanations to this point, can be rephrased in these words: in a cycle of destruction and rebuilding, and a context of all-inclusive change, “wrong” memories are eliminated and “right” ones will be preserved. Max Page has explored this meaning in the urban landscape of Manhattan. He believes that “the linking of collective memory to the physical landscape was not accidental but, rather, institutionalized.”⁸ He uses the phrase “history industry” to prove his argument about the linkage between landscape, memory, and creative destruction in Manhattan within three points. First the recovery of local history is a national phenomenon to involve writers and to concern old and new institutions. Second, the history of place is manufactured rooted in daily social issues. Finally, the pairing of history with industry suggests a strong linkage between New York’s history and the commercial profit. Taking all of these into account, Page argues that history is a servant of the city development and redevelopment.⁹

In such an ever-changing culture of destruction dominated by modernization, Page seeks implicitly for a way to preserve the original memory of place. He comes with no better answer than what Virginia Lee Burton has depicted in her book, *The Little House*.¹⁰ In this book published for children, based on a personal experience she tells a story of a romantic nostalgic house which has to be removed from the way of development in an urbanization tragedy. The Little House while moving in the hectic life of the city development to find a place to reside in and accumulate the new memories to

⁸ Max Page, *The Creative Destruction Of Manhattan 1900-1940*, 252.

⁹ Ibid 252.

¹⁰ Virginia Lee Burton, *The Little House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942)

its own realized that there is not such a place in this city. At the end she is brought back to the countryside, where is much like its first original site. The Little House promises herself not to be curious about the city and not to want to live there forever. Although this is more a critic than a solution for preserving the memory of place, but it reflects the reality of the life within a modernization process: either you accept modernity's philosophy, modernism, and join this fluctuating never-ending process of modernization, or you try to stay away from it. Marshall Berman has best described this maelstrom process:

To be modern, I said, is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find one's world and oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction: to be part of a universe in which all that is solid melts into air. To be a modernist is to make oneself somehow at home in the maelstrom, to make its rhythms one's own, to move within its currents in search of the forms of reality, of beauty, of freedom, of justice, that its fervid and perilous flow allows.¹¹

Relocating our discourse on modernity from Western geography towards the Middle East we will see with no doubt that modernity has caused a sort of discontinuity and disjuncture in developing cities, specifically those in an Islamic context. Amir Ahmadi suggests that we can understand and analyze this discontinuity only when we scrutinize the institutions that constitute the modern experience.¹² Drawing on Giddens' words, he introduces these as capitalism, industrialization, administrative rationalization, and militarism.¹³ Although addressing all of these institutions is beyond our scope, the bottom line is that unlike the West where modernization was part of social development

¹¹ Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air, The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Verso, 1982): 345-346.

¹² Hooshang Amirahmadi, and Mohammad R. Razavi, "Urban Development in the Muslim World, Encounter with Modernity and Implications for Planning," *Urban Development in the Muslim World* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993)

¹³ Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences Of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990)

and debates on its philosophy, and allowed the incorporation of its concepts in the public mind, in developing countries such as Iran, it was an artificial process paid for and built by the government and its small circle of urban bourgeoisie. Ali Modarres argues that in this context people were mainly consumers of modernity, hardly agents in its construction.¹⁴ In fact, modernism's concomitants such as capitalism and its major tool, creative destruction, cannot easily impart themselves to the events of daily life in this local geography. The reason is that forces such as religion and tradition rooted in a long-time history will resist them. Thus, a sort of underdeveloped modernism, turned on its head, from the top downward, through resorting to governmental force will appear and bring a sense of disjuncture to the place.¹⁵

This totalitarian modernism can even lead to an unusual process such as putting the second before the first, or effect before the cause. A manifestation of this claim is when the thought of preserving national identity and memory—along with external global factors such as the oil market revenues—produced a political modernism in Iran during Pahlavi era: a modernism capable of impacting the physical landscape considerably.¹⁶ In this process, as Modarres explains, the monumental architecture is exaggerated while the historical urban context loses its importance.¹⁷ Then the question encountering our mind is that how should we interpret the term preservation in this

¹⁴ Ali Modarres, *Modernizing Yazd: Selective Historical Memory And The Fate Of Vernacular Architecture* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2006)

¹⁵ Marshal Berman has described this kind of modernization (from the top downward) in his book in the chapter on St. Petersburg and Novinsky Boulevard. See Berman, 1982.

¹⁶ Talin Grigor, *Building Iran, Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage Under the Pahlavi Monarchs*, (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009)

¹⁷ Ali Modarres, *Modernizing Yazd: Selective Historical Memory and The Fate Of Vernacular Architecture*, 162.

context? Modarres referring to Ayfer Bartu¹⁸ delineates a close relationship between architectural preservation and nationalism where heritage determines how the past should be interpreted. Here, what to be preserved is linked to the interest of those who make their own political-social interests.

Besides the two factors we explained as creative destruction and memory of place, religion is also a crucial force influencing urban development process. This influence can be seen in the city's arena through religion's resistance against the full accomplishment of modernism and its goals such as capitalism. The result of these divergent forces would be a type of underdeveloped modernism which on the one hand does not completely fit the values and norms of its traditional society, and on the other undermines the society's identity. This directs us to another point that as much as religion is influential in relation to modernism it can be influential in relation to preservation. A case in point is the old city of Hebron.

Patricia Sellick describes that in the old city of Hebron, Israelis' and Palestinians' conflicts over the city have left it in an ambiguous urban blight condition. For the latter it is part of everyday identity and for the former a site for destruction, and then construction of identity.¹⁹ Another case representing the importance of religious beliefs relative to modernism and preservation is the urban development process in Mecca. Here, the meaning of heritage is lost in relation to the religious belief in which Saudi clerics see the God's oneness in denying what can be—even potentially—a source of idolatry. In this case, to prevent polytheism the destruction of historic features rejects the worship of anything which may have a divine association with God. As a result the 230-year-old

¹⁸ Ayfer Bartu, "Rethinking Heritage Politics In Global Context: A View from Istanbul", *Hybrid urbanism: On the identity discourse and the built environment*, ed. Nezar Alsayyad, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2001)

¹⁹ Patricia Sellick, "The Old City of Hebron: Can It Be Saved?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 1994, 23: 69-82.

Ottoman fortress is demolished and makes way for the construction of Abraj-Al-Bait Tower project.²⁰ This exemplifies our earlier claim on how such beliefs can lead to unusual processes in a similar religious context. Here, not only religion is not resisting destruction, but also, is facilitating and accompanying it.

Destruction and memory correspondent respectively with modernization and preservation can equip us to interpret the urban interventions in a secular context; however, in some cases, concerning the local geography of place, other factors such as religion should be considered to have a fair understating of the potential/de facto interactions and contradictions. Thus, in pursuit of the western concepts such as capitalism and creative destruction in this research, other factors such as religion and local history will be discussed to complete and support my interpretive narrative.

Based on our narrative approach, we will chronologically review the course of sociopolitical events with respect to modernization and preservation in Iran, generally, and Isfahan particularly, to see how these concepts were founded and developed. The second section addresses Pahlavi I era when first modernization—in its 20th-century international meaning—attended Iran. This accompanying a series of domestic and international events led to the invention of heritage as well as Persian modernism.

The third section discusses the progress of preservation and modernization with respect to the events during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah in Pahlavi II. This is when both preservation and modernization are finding their stable and academic definitions in Isfahan, though their conflicts are becoming more intense in the arena of the city development.

²⁰ “Historic Fortress Destroyed”, *New York Times*, 9 January 2002.

The chapter on conclusion addresses preservation and modernization status and the changes they experience with respect to their meanings after Islamic Revolution in 1979. After exploring the change of national values and what preservation means at this point, I will explore several cases to contextualize this period's modernization and preservation activities. Although the scope of preservation and modernization activities in the state is very vast at this era—in need of a study independent from the current thesis—cases selected represent the success and failure of both preservation and modernization. We will conclude this section with what we discussed in the whole thesis and what could be the future of preservation and modernization in Iran.

SECTION 2: *PAHLAVI I*

Chapter 2: Inventing Persian Modernism²¹

Those years at the beginning of the 1920s should be marked in Iran's history as the embryonic stage of institutionalizing the Pahlavi dynasty. In February 21, 1921, when Reza Khan, the Iranian Cossacks' commander, and Seyed Zia, the political writer, carried out the first military coup in Iran, it was in fact a beginning for Reza Khan and his son to rule over the country for almost the next six decades, to make a secular modern land in two sequential dynasties of Pahlavi I (1925-1941) and Pahlavi II (1941-1979). In such an upheaval accompanying the Pahlavi's efforts to secularize Iran, the forced modernism from the top downward, from modernity's ambitions of governors down to a context of tradition, creates an arena in which the relationship between preservation and modernization narrates the characteristics of the built environment at the time. The result will be an interaction between these two processes with respect to the architectural context and individual buildings, and contradiction with respect to the urban context.

Reza Khan's coronation in April 1925, after the official extinction of Qajar dynasty approved by the parliament's vote, accelerated this modernization process because Shah wanted to renounce the presence of a royal regime through the reformist acts. These reformist acts were, as they should, correspondent with those of modernism's institutions including capitalism, industrialization, administrative rationalization, and militarism.²² These in the history of the first Pahlavi dynasty were implemented according to the Reza Khan's ideology in the following forms: neutralizing local rulers in order to create a powerful unified government by the aid of a modern young army; foundation of

²¹ The title of this chapter is influenced by Talinn Grigor's book, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*. (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009)

²² See Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences Of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990)

modern institutions and organizations to modify the bureaucratic governing system of the country emulating that of the adjacent countries such as Turkey; creating new regulations and laws to rectify or abolish the traditional patterns and old systems, specifically through the secularization of cultural norms; and finally creating a unified infrastructural network throughout the country's major cities, specifically Tehran.²³

The fast process of intervention accompanied these ambitions cannot be difficult to imagine. This imagination of Reza Khan's thoughts, tools, and approaches in this context has best been delineated through Stephanie Cronin's words: "Modernization was Reza Shah's ultimate challenge, concentration his medium, and nationalism the ideology or philosophy that justified both...During the reign of Reza Shah, Iran underwent the fastest reforms not only in political and economic sectors, but also in the cultural and intellectual reforms."²⁴ While Cronin uses concentration as a generic word to introduce the Shah's medium of modernization, this medium can show itself in different forms. The one correspondent with nationalism through physical interventions in the built environment cannot be anything more powerful than a nation's architecture,²⁵ which in its holistic term addresses both modern and inherited aspects of a culture and civilization. The necessity of the presence of an administrative mind as an institution of modernism, to "preserve and promote"²⁶ that nationalism accompanying architecture in Reza Khan's

²³ Stephanie Cronin, *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921-1941* (NY: Routledge Curzon, 2003)

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ The literature on this subject is rather extensive that addresses how throughout history architecture has been manipulated in the service of politics. For instance see Vale, Lawrence J., *Architecture, Power, and National Identity*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). In this book the author argues that governmental buildings serve as symbols of the state, and by observing closely what the government builds we can learn much about the political regime.

²⁶ *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976)

Iran, led to the establishment of the Society of National Heritage in 1922, a landmark event in the course of architecture and urbanism in Iran.

Between the years of 1921 and 1922 a few of patriotic diplomats and intellectuals, to the order of Reza Khan, gathered to form a cultural group "to preserve, protect, and promote Iran's patrimony" called Anjoman-e-Asaar-e-Melli, The Society for National Heritage (SNH).²⁷ The political atmosphere of such a society is representative enough of how its outcome will be affected by political thoughts. A brief review of its members' backgrounds and positions at the time not only substantiates this fact, but also ascertains their dual characters which vacillate between modern and traditional thoughts. For instance, the master mind of this society, Abdolhosein Teymurtash (1883–1933) was a scholar politician trained in Russia and England, who served after his return to Iran in both Qajar and Pahlavi dynasties respectively as Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Court.²⁸ In a transitional stage from tradition to modernism, from Qajar to Pahlavi, we

²⁷ There is a belief that the foundation of SNH goes back to the proximity of Iran's Constitutional Revolution in 1906 and is linked with that, even with a religious Zoroastrian tinge in depth. The SNH's report book, *Karnameh*, reads this event and its time: "Early morning on the 3rd of Esfand 2479 (of the Royal Calendar).....a passionate and strong-minded Iranian.....rescued the nation from the grip of foreigners, tribe chiefs, and poverty. Two years after the arrival of Reza Shah the Great on the political scene, peace and security were restored. On his order in the fall of 2481 a group of prominent intellectuals—devotees of the nation's heritage and proud of its progress—gathered around the Society. Their purpose was to preserve and restore historic landmarks and honor the memory, culture, and artistic reputation of ancient Iran." Also see Talinn Grigor, "Parsi Patronage of The Urheimat", *Getty Research Journal*, Volume 2, 53-68 and Talinn Grigor, "Recultivating Good Taste: The Early Pahlavi Modernists And Their Society For National Heritage". *Iranian Studies*, no.1, 2004: 17-45.

²⁸ Other influential members of this society are prime minister Hasan Pirnia the writer of *History of Ancient Iran* in four volumes, Mohammad Ali Forughi, the scholar politician, Reza Shah's first and last minister, and the most publicly recognized figure of the Society, Firuz Mirza Firuz the prominent Qajar nobleman and minister of finance, a key figure in Iran's archeology dealings with France, Arbab Keikhosrow Shahrokh, the Zoroastrian Parliament's deputy a figure reknown as the advocate of the neo-Achaemenian style of the 1930s, Al Akbar Davar, the Justice and Finance minister and influential in financing the SNH's projects, Hasan Mostawfi, the former prime minister and Hasan Esfandiari, Ebrahim Hakimi, and Hajj Seyyed Nasrollah Taqavi, all from the circle of leading politicians. During next years, other powerful political men such as Seyyed Hasan Taqizadeh, Iesa Sadiq, and Ali Asghar Hekmat joined the society. Talinn Grigor, *Recultivating Good Taste: The Early Pahlavi Modernists And Their Society For National Heritage*: 21.

may see how Teymourtash and his contemporary influential men are caught in between the two poles which affected their thought and practice led to the formation of a dual personality of being modern and traditional. A glance through Teymurtash's photo album during these years contributes to this fact where for example, official costume—regularly changed between the traditional and the modern one in the form of western suit—depicts, at least ostensibly, a modern-traditional Teymurtash.

Thus, it is not farfetched to expect a modern-traditional philosophy from the directing mind of a society formed from a circle of such intellectuals. This mind pursued its theoretical goals within three major themes at the beginning of the society's formation, though more objectives were incorporated in the following years until the end of Pahlavi era: Emphasizing on the Aryan roots of the nation, secularization of the country's socio-geography through replacing the society's values in Iranian minds such as replacing pilgrimage with tourism, and reshaping the collective historical memory through a process of destruction and reconstruction of the built environment, all are representative of these major goals.



Figure 1: Teymurtash, left, in a traditional costume during Reza Khan's coronation, and right, in a modern costume sitting next to Reza Khan's son, Mohammad Reza, who inherited the throne from father in Pahlavi II.

The act developed out of these goals was substantial within the following fifty eight years of the society's life as Talinn Grigor describes: "The SNH erected approximately forty mausoleum complexes, carried out over sixty preservation projects, and created a national museum as well as a public library in Tehran. Its artistic and ideological scope was, no doubt, unprecedented in the cultural history of Iran and was bolstered by its publications, lectures, exhibitions, and contribution to the tourist trade. Each of its undertakings represented the general project of Iran's modernity, identified by political historians as the *New Order* or the *New Iran*."²⁹

SNH in search of a nationwide understandable language in architecture, and with respect to the theme of its goals, specifically the nationalism movement, came with the idea of tomb architecture as a physical medium of its reformist acts.³⁰ In fact, pursuing this idea could have two achievements for the society: First, the rich historic background of the country in tomb architecture could provide an enriched repertoire for the society to find a source of inspiration for defining new heritage plausible in the public eyes. Since this source came from a concept that the public have seen and lived with for a long time as part of their culture, it should let them have enough social space to digest it. The Cyrus Tomb in Pasargadae (530-540 BC) or the Holy shrines of the Shia Imams were not unfamiliar to even lay people at the time.³¹ The second achievements resulted from the first one was shifting a norm and value in the collective memory formed throughout the time in Iranians' minds. This shift should happen from a religious ritual in visiting holy mausoleums called Ziarat—translated as pilgrimage—to the modern belief of Tourism. In

²⁹ Ibid. 17-18

³⁰ See Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*. (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009)

³¹ The literature on this topic is rather extensive. For instance see chapters 1 and 2 in Karim Pirnia, ed. Golamhossein Memarian, *Memari-e Islamie Iran*, (Tehran:2004)

fact, the final achievement for the society on this ground could be reviving part of the nation's history where Pahlavi tried to define its roots, and this could not happen without diminishing the significance of religious beliefs in the public psyche. Thus, this psychic tendency different from previous dynasties of Qajar and Safavieh was sought not in religion, but while negating religion in the historic belief of nationalism, in Persian identity.

The materialization of such an ideology calls for the invention of heritage as well as the invention of a Persian modernism, where although disjuncture between old and new happened, a source of juncture was invented to fill out the consequent gap. The disjuncture came from the Pahlavi's thoughts to undermine the role of religion as an ideology in traditional building culture, where even domestic architecture should follow religious principles.³² Then, nationalism was that source of juncture to fill out this ideological gap. This nationalism was a combination of traditionalism and international modernism vernacularized and inspired by architectural features of Achaemenid and Sassanid eras. This invention begins with the design process of Ferdowsi's mausoleum in Tus, Meshed. The role of the orientalist attending Iran for this purpose—whether with political intentions or without—is considerable. They influenced the direction of such a movement and where this Persian identity should seek its source of inspiration, as we will discuss in the next chapter.

³² For instance the direction of Qibla and the introvert housing typology due to the privacy issues, all connected to the religious principles, are some of the factors influencing the architecture of residential buildings.

Chapter 3: Reinforcing the Interaction of Preservation and Modernization: *the Attendance of Orientalists*

While Reza Khan was influenced from outside by international powers, a competition among France, Germany, and later US over Iran's heritage had begun. Though Reza Khan had political interests by inviting orientalists from these countries, they contributed to fostering the concept of preservation and modernization in Iran. Ernst Emil Herzfeld, Andre Godard, and Arthur Upham Pope are the most famous orientalists who attended Iran. The scope of Pope's work was more than others focused on Isfahan, and his infatuation with this city and its historic landmarks kept him in Isfahan forever; however the major part of his works on Iran's historic buildings took place during Pahlavi II. These led to the formation of cultural meaning of preservation and brought its importance to an international scale while helped to define the direction of the national movement in architecture and preservation in connection with SNH activities.

The main articles of the SNH Regulation in Karnameh embraces two primary intentions: cultivating public fascination with Iranian scientific and industrial historic heritage and protecting fine arts and handicrafts for preserving their old styles and methods. This Regulation also introduces the initial approaches of the society to execute its intentions which include the establishment of a museum and library in Tehran, preservation of national heritage through recording and registration, and preparing a list of valuable collections in the possession of national organizations.³³ To provide enough political space for accomplishing these intentions and objectives, the society first required ending the French monopoly over the archeological rights in Iran.³⁴ The society found the

³³ *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 13-21.

³⁴ This right was given to France in Qajar era based on an agreement by Mozaffar al-Din Shah signed on August 11, 1900.

solution in inviting from orientalists of newfound world powers at the time such as Germany and US with mainly two objectives: first to draw on their knowledge for fostering the basics of its archeological and preservation activities and second, to provide more space for its own intervention in country's archeological sites by sharing the rights among more powerful countries. There existed a third bilateral outcome which could even be more important than these two objectives and that is rekindling the national Persian identity through directing preservation and modernization activities. Based on this attitude the years between 1922 and 1928 depict parallel political and professional activities of the society.

Orientalists who attended Iran each influenced the direction of the nationalism movement that had begun since the foundation of SNH, a movement in search of where the Persian identity has come from and where its destination should be. In general, orientalists affected the movement in two intertwined ways: first through their academic and scientific works on Iran's heritage, and second through presenting their findings to the governors, specifically to Reza Khan. The first orientalist, who attended Iran during Reza Khan's regime, was Ernst Herzfeld, a professor of oriental studies at the University of Berlin, who was invited to take up the post as Librarian of Tehran's Antiquities Museum. Concerning Shah's nationalism interests, Herzfeld's presentation in August 1925 at the Ministry of Culture and Art explored a hypothesis that Iran was a foundational Aryan civilization in art history, and thus the truth of its heritage goes back to the pre-Islamic era.

He recognized four stylistic periods in his presentation on Iran's national heritage which he believed no other nation has such a similar long one. This includes

Achaemenid, Sassanid, Seljuk, and Safavid periods,³⁵ the salient dynasties of Iran each with a distinctive style of architecture and urbanism.³⁶ He extended his words by delimiting the scope of national monuments from buildings to what later became the source of first milestone in interaction between preservation and modernization in Iran. Herzfeld argued that “the true Iranian heritage is Shahnameh...”³⁷ and he brings his logic for this argument: “a high castle of poetry, so that it will be immune from wind and rain; a building impossible to be destroyed.”³⁸ Shahnameh is a compilation of epic poems which narrates a combination of legendary and historical past of Iran, written by Persian poet Ferdowsi (977-1010 AD). The time span of these poems embraces the creation of the world until the Islamic conquest of Persia in the 7th century.

Based on what Reza Khan had in mind, Shahnameh could be a very appropriate source of inspiration to define the departure point for both modernization and preservation activities. On one hand it could assert the long historic background of Persia, and on the other, it could emphasize an era of Persian glory segregated from religion, all what Reza Khan and SNH required for building a secular modern country. Besides bringing the importance of Shahnameh to Shah’s eyes, Herzfeld contributed to the compilation of the first brief inventory of the historical heritage of Iran. He categorized the list, as asked by SNH, on a hierarchy defined based on the affinity of the subject

³⁵ Though this could be a more general classification of Iran’s historical architectural styles, a more expanded and accurate one includes six major styles as Parsi, Parthian, Khorasani, Raazi, Azari, and Isfahani. Some believe that in Qajar era, not a style but a substyle developed from the features of Isfahani style which although had deficiencies and flaws in architecture, was enriched with new urban concepts that introduced to the local culture. See Mohammad k. Pirnia, *Sabkshenasi Memari Irani*, ed. Gholamhosein Memarian, (Tehran, 2004) and Habibi, Sayed Mohsen, *Az Shar Ta Shahr*, (Iran: Danishgah-i Tehran, 2004).

³⁶ Society For National Heritage 92, Majmueye Entesharate Anjoman, (Tehran, 1972): 41-43.

³⁷ Society For National Heritage 131, Majmueye Entesharate Anjoman, (Tehran, 1972): 5.

³⁸ Society For National Heritage 92, Majmueye Entesharate Anjoman, (Tehran, 1972): 35.

heritage with the defined national identity. This list was ready at the end of August 1925 and developed further by the end of 1932 when it includes 82 pre-Islamic monuments of the 247 listed buildings. This list in fact as we can see through the life of SNH became the source of inspiration for defining heritage and historic monuments as long as Persian modern architecture in Iran.³⁹

In 1925 two other orientalists, who are recognized more as art historians, arrived in Iran where they continued their scientific exploration until the end of their lives. Arthur Upham Pope and his wife Phyllis Ackerman are two American orientalists who are well-known in the field of art history due to their contribution to the knowledge of Persian art. Pope, educated at Brown, Cornell, and Harvard universities, and taught at Berkeley, was a professor of philosophy and aesthetics, who had activities in other fields such as archeology and museum planning. Similar to his German counterpart, Herzfeld, he gave a lecture in presence of Reza Shah, the American contingent, and a number of SNH members at the house of the minister of Post and Telegraph, known as “The Past and Future of Persian Art.”⁴⁰

In this lecture, Pope talked about the glorious days of Iran under the Achaemenid, Sassanid, and Islamic emperors and admired the role that Iran has had in fostering the cultural life of the world. Emphasizing Persian art and architecture, he reached to this point that ancient emperors affected by the arts considered them their privilege.⁴¹ Thus,

³⁹ Talinn Grigor, “Recultivating Good Taste: The Early Pahlavi Modernists and Their Society for National Heritage”. *Iranian Studies*, no.1, 2004: 30.

⁴⁰ Donald N. Wilber, *Riza Khan Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran*. (NY: Exposition Press): 98.

Also see Jay Gluck, and Noël Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art: A documentary biography of Arthur Upham Pope & Phyllis Ackerman 1881-1969*. (Japan: Ashiya, 1996).

⁴¹ As he began his lecture with mentioning Cyrus, the founder of the Achaemenian dynasty and Ardeshir I, founder of the Sassanid Dynasty, as pure Persian heroes, and then pointing to the privilege of art for emperors, it is perceptible that what sort of Persian art is Pope’s intention of speech. See Gluck and Siver, *Surveyors of Persian Art* 93-110

he urged Shah to advocate a revival of art in Iran. Influenced by this talk, Reza Shah ordered its content disseminated to all schools and incorporated in their history curriculum. Two weeks later, in an official decree he changed his name to Pahlavi, since now he saw himself validated in a Persian identity rooted in the past. Other impacts of this lecture were paving the ground for Pope to explore the historic sites in Iran,⁴² including Isfahan where, interestingly, as we will discuss in section 3, he became as he willed a subject of tomb architecture after his death in 1969. The outcome of Pope and Ackerman's survey on Iran's art was the book *Survey of Persian Art: From Prehistoric Times to the Present*.⁴³



Figure 2: Arthur Ophum Pope on the right side at the Exhibition of Persian Art, New York, 1940 (<http://www.penn.museum/blog/fun/fun-friday-image-of-the-week/the-tactile-experience/>)

⁴² For instance a letter to the Isfahan's governor, Apr 29.1929 (Office of the Ministry of Public Instruction) reads: "The American professor Pope who is a renowned expert in Iran-shenasi is traveling to the area.... assist him in his wish to see the historic heritage."

⁴³ Pope, Arthur Upham, 1881-1969, Phyllis Ackerman 1893-1977, and Theodore Besterman 1904-1976. *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*. (NY: Oxford University Press. 1938). This book was reprinted in 1964.

The last orientalist introduced here, and somehow the most influential, is Andre Godard who arrived in Tehran on January 1929. Though his main task was to maintain and develop the French prestige in Iran—specifically after the attenuation of France’s monopoly over Iran’s archeology—he was sent to take the directorship of the National Museum. The main feature that distinguishes him from other orientalists in Iran and made him more effective in the discourse of preservation-modernization interaction was his design discipline. He was an architect as well as an archeologist, graduated from Ecole des Beaux-Arts.⁴⁴ A man more of practice than of theory, he designed a number of public buildings in Iran, including the Iran-e Bastan Museum ⁴⁵(National Museum) of which he was appointed as the first director in 1936. He also became the honorary member of SNH until 1950s. During his presence in Iran, he cooperated in the restoration and rehabilitation of some major architectural edifices, including the Masjed-e Joma, Masjed-e Shah, and Masjed-e Shaekh Lotf-Allah in Isfahan.



Figure 3: Left: Iran-e Bastan Museum (National Museum, 1936) by Andre Godard inspired by Tawq-e-Kisra in right image built in 241-651 CE in Ctesiphon during Sassanid Era (from Tehran’s Municipality Website at <http://region12.tehran.ir/Portals/0/Image/1389/302/1-1.gif>)

⁴⁴ In his travel, similar to Pope, Yedda Reuilly accompanied his husband, Andre Godard. She had studied at the École des langues orientales vivantes in Paris and was a gifted watercolorist. She later used her talent for archeological drawings. For further information on both Andre and Yedda Godard see <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/godard>, last access April 2013.

⁴⁵ “Bastan” in Persian means old and ancient as related to archeology.

His contribution is not limited only to the development of the meaning of archeology and architecture in Iran. He also impacted the education system of architecture in Iran after the establishment of the University of Tehran to the order of Reza Khan in 1934. Godard in cooperation with some other Iranian and western architects prepared and implemented the first master plan of the campus, and became the first dean of the university.⁴⁶ This gave him the opportunity to model the curriculum on the French Ecole des Beaux-Arts system of ateliers that influenced the education of the first generation of Persian architects.

Within an atmosphere of interaction between modernization and preservation, Godard's style of design developed from incorporating tradition into the definition of modern architectural forms. For instance, the Iran-e Bastan Museum was conceived as a modern building with a traditional facade extracted from the pre-Islamic architecture of the Sasanian period, one of the two dynasties admired by Pahlavi. The large entrance is a replica of the Tawq-e-Kisra's arch (241-651) in Ctesiphon which reflects Godard's interest in archeology. This interest is perceptible when we notice the traditional material of brick is dominant in the facade while emulating the decorative elements of the Tawq-e-Kisra. Similarly, his other architectural designs are inspired by traditionalism rooted in Achaemenid or Sassanid architecture. The Tehran University's campus buildings represent his idea of mass concept taken from Achaemenid's Persepolis.

⁴⁶ Some of the other instrumental people are Hooshang Seyhoun (a graduate from Ecole Beaux Arts and the second Dean of the Tehran University), Maxim Siroux, Mohsen Forughi, and Roland Dubrul.



Figure 4: Right: Campus of the University of Tehran. Left: one of the university's buildings at the College of Fine Arts inspired by architectural features of Persepolis

By the beginning of the 1930s, the orientalist's contribution to the local meaning of modernization and preservation on one hand, and the stabilization of SNH's activities and agendas on the other, have paved the way for the first physical manifestation of nationalism movement, a result of interaction between modernism and traditionalism. Reviewing the landmark events which led to the construction of the first modern historic heritage in Iran, the Tomb of Ferdowsi, we can see the convergent contributions of the orientalist and SNH: The SNH proposes the idea of tomb architecture, Herzfeld introduces Ferdowsi and Shahnameh as the subject of this architecture, Pope suggests Achaemenid's architecture is where the source of inspiration for this should be sought, and Andre Godard designs the Tomb of Ferdowsi. As a result in a restoration project Ferdowsi's Mausoleum erected in 1933 in Tus, Meshed, with its mass concept taken from the Cyrus Tomb, the founder of the Achaemenid Emperor; however, one more event is underway to complete the chain of the events led to the construction of the tomb.

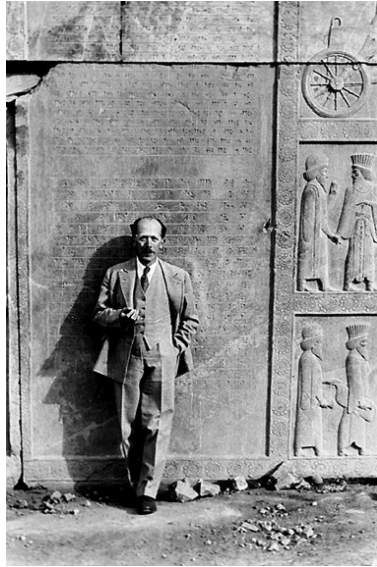


Figure 5: (Left) Ernest Herzfeld, the German orientalist

Figure 6: (Right) Andre Godard, the French architect and archeologist.
From <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/godard>

The fast process of modernization in Iran caused the ignorance of the quality of this process, and one example is here in the construction of Ferdowsi's Tomb. Reza khan's incessant demand to open the tomb as soon as possible to announce the beginning of a new era in Iran (with a symbolic physical project) affected the quality of the construction, specifically the building's foundation. The visible cracks in the building within first months of its opening, called for repair or reconstruction of the tomb. The latter seemed more logical as the level of building's damage was beyond being repairable. Karim Taherzadeh Behzad, an artist and architect educated in Fine Art School in Istanbul and Berlin Academy of Architecture, and a member of SNH, was the architect appointed to redesign the tomb.⁴⁷ His design with more resemblance to the Tomb of

⁴⁷ In fact he was involved in the tomb design process from earlier time as well as some other orientalist such as Herzfeld. His first design proposal similar to Herzfeld was rejected by SNH, when they selected the Godard's design for the mausoleum in a competition. For further information on Behzad's architectural work and the process of design selection and construction of the Ferdowsi's Tomb see Grigor, *Recultivating Good Taste*, 37 and Bijan Shafei, Sohrab Soroushani, and Victor Daniel, *Karim TaherZadeh Behzad Architecture*, (Tehran: Did Publication, 2005): 52-67.

Cyrus was a free eclecticism of historic Persian styles, specifically with its Achaemenid pilasters. This design reminiscent of Art Deco's freedom in style came to physical realization in 1934.⁴⁸



Figure 7: Tomb of Ferdowsi built in 1933 based on the Godard's design proposal. Image from Bīzhan Shāfī'ī, Suhrāb Surūshiyānī, and Victor Daniel. *Mi'mārī-i Karīm Tāhir'zādah Bihzād*. (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dīd, 2005)



Figure 8: Karim Taherzadeh Behzad (right) with his brother Hussein (left) in Berlin. (Ibid)

⁴⁸ In fact, Behzad was somehow involved in the design process from 1928 until 1934. See note 15.

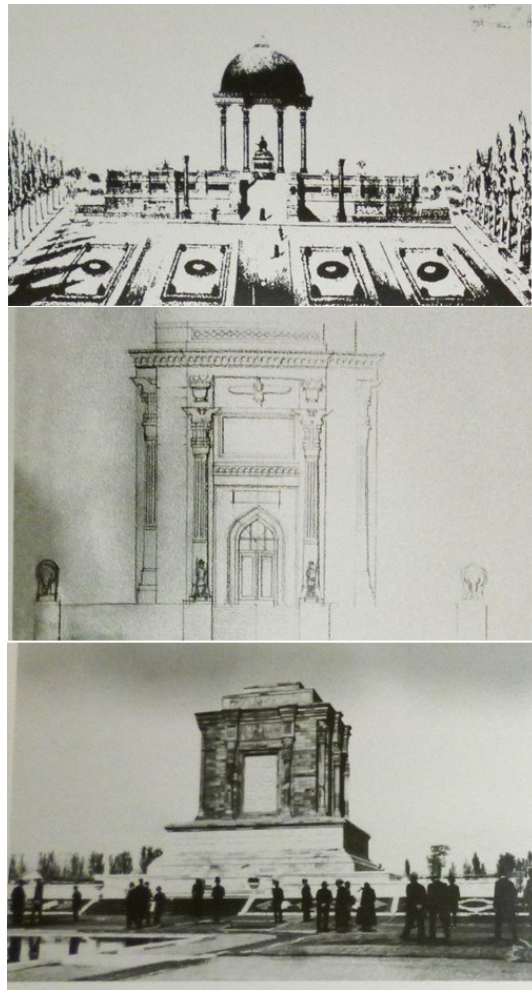


Figure 9: Top, Karim Taherzadeh Behzad's first proposal for the Tomb of Ferdowsi, rejected by SNH. Middle, Behzad's second proposal which later was built in 1934 as shown in the bottom image (Ibid)



Figure 10: Left, Tomb of Cyrus: 530-540 BC, Pasargadae, the source of inspiration in designing Ferdowsi's mausoleum. Right, Tomb of Ferdowsi today.

Although a decade of cooperation between preservation and modernization in Pahlavi I—directed by SNH—had valuable achievements and delineated the future path for both trends, when it comes to the urban context the story is completely different. This begins from the capital, Tehran, and expands its impact on other major cities of Iran, such as Meshed, Isfahan, and Shiraz. The next chapter with a focus on Isfahan will shed more light on this issue.

Chapter 4: Preservation and Urban Development in Pahlavi I

An investigation on the history of master-planned urban developments in Isfahan would not yield any results until the beginning of Pahlavi II era. This is while in the capital, Tehran, the embryonic stages of preparing master plans had begun almost one century earlier during Qajar dynasty. After Naser-a'din Shah's travels to European cities such as Paris and Vienna, specifically after 1879, new concepts emerging from preplanned developments were introduced to the urban setting. The concept of Ringstrasse and Haussmannian boulevards with a tinge of baroque style, and thanks to the French who were teaching in Dar-ol-Fonon, was incorporated to the historic fabric of Tehran.

This transition of a western concept to the local setting of Iran led to the formation of a new space called "street." The understanding of the term "street," meaning "Khiaaban," in Persian as an opposite to the term "Biaaban," meaning "desert," was not difficult anymore, since its physical and mental experience was open to the public in spaces such as Naserieh Street—after Naser-a'din Shah's name. Before the attendance of street in Iran in such a meaning, the city's circulation spaces were mostly short dirt roads reaching dead ends, or labyrinth paths without any pavement. In fact, they were more similar to alleys rather than streets.⁴⁹ At this time the social function of street as an urban space was fulfilled by Bazar and its linear pedestrian space.

Years later in 1932 during Pahlavi I, again a new master plan tore down the Naseri city's walls to establish new streets on its place and annunciate the beginning of a new era of Pahlavi's modern urbanism, the one with destruction as its main means in

⁴⁹ A more appropriate term would be the Persian word "Kocheh" instead of Alley which is hard to find an equivalent term for that in English. This comes from the difference in patterns of urban morphology in local contexts.

hand. Similar urban destruction occurred in other cities' historic areas such as in Hamedan and Mashhad which all whether intentionally or unintentionally shared one feature: undermining the cities' historic context, its integrity and connectivity through inserting new streets in the city's urban fabric while exaggerating the value of the new and ignoring the value of the old.

In Isfahan, Pahlavi I was an idealistic era for "street" to emerge in its modern terms and foster its functional meaning throughout the whole Pahlavi dynasty. Without any urban plan, the mental force that directed this street-oriented development was the industrial constitution of modern experience. The legal entity which was supervising this experience was "Baladieh." Baladieh at this time is an organization responsible for almost all urban tasks in Isfahan, from health and sanitary issues such as building hospitals to providing food supply, repairing historic buildings, and developing urban infrastructure.

The street-oriented movement specifically reaches its climax after 1932 during the Sardar-Habibollah-Khan-e Shahr-dar's management in Baladieh, who was the chief of the Edare Nazmieh at the same time. His simultaneous management in two major official and powerful organizations along with his talent provided him with better opportunity to lead this movement. Besides, Mirza Ghasem Khan-e Soor-e Esrafil was the city's governor at the time, and his resourceful and support was another reason for such a construction boom in early years of Pahlavi I. Before this time based on Seyyed Reza Khan's map, the city is very compact and dense with labyrinth paths moving throughout an organic urban fabric.⁵⁰ By 1930 only a few streets such as Marizkhaneh, Labe

⁵⁰ Until 1923 Isfahan was deprived of a map in such a scale that can show the city's neighborhoods, its paths and alleys, public buildings and other characteristic features.⁵⁰ At this time, Seyyed Reza Khan, a military commander in Nazmieh, by walking across the city and onsite survey drew a city map, which although was not precise, is the only document prepared at the beginning of Pahlavi era and can narrate valuable information from that time. Seyyed Reza Khan has mentioned this inaccuracy on the map's

Roodkhaneh, Seyyed Ali Khan, Khosh, Sepah, and Chahrbagh-e-Khajo were constructed in the city;⁵¹ however, only Chaharbagh can be mentioned as a fully developed street in which case was a remainder from Safavid dynasty connecting the historic Seio-Se-Pol Bridge over Zayandeh Rood River to Darvaze Dolat in the heart of the city's historic area.

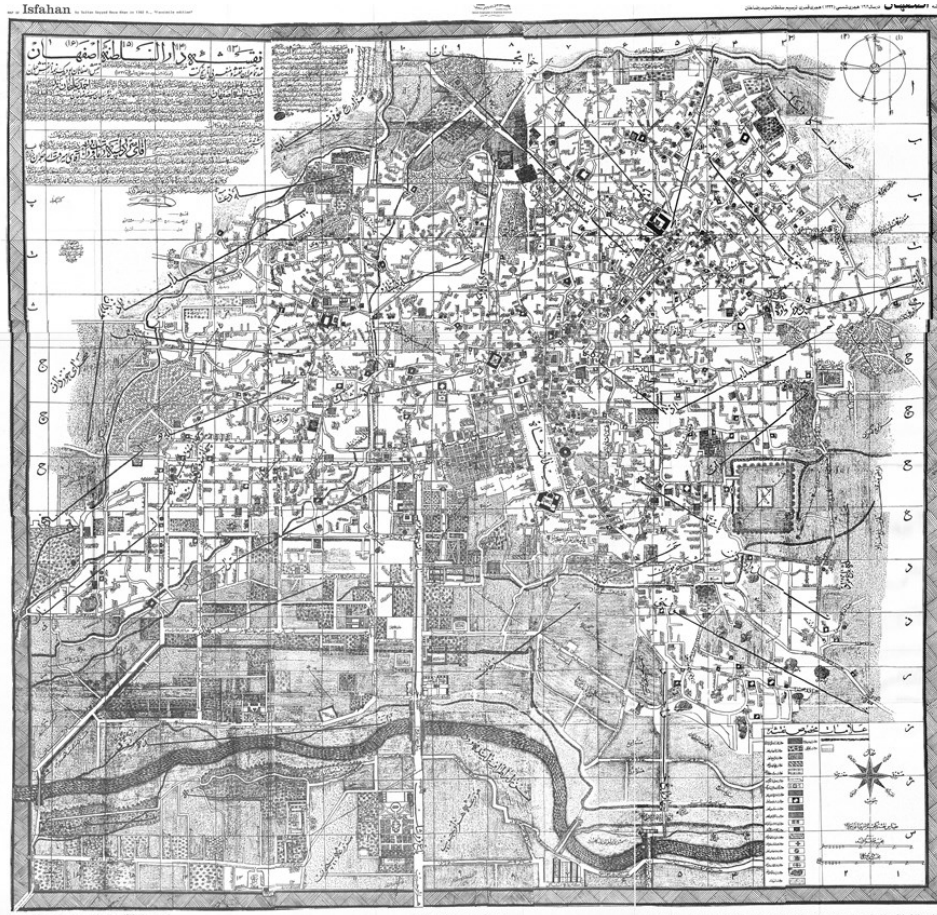


Figure 11: Seyyed Reza Khan Map of Isfahan 1923, Isfahan Renovation Organization

margin: “At the end I mention that in places with new roads and paths such as Khosh Street.....because of new constructions and repair activities, determining the angles in the survey was overlooked.” He prepared the map in 1/4000 scale within three years from 1920 till 1923, and mainly for security reasons.

⁵¹ Chaharbagh-e Khajo or Chaharbaghe Sadr should not be mistaken with Chaharbagh. This street following Chaharbagh Street's features was built during the Qajar Dynasty's rule with the aid of Haj Mohammad Hossein Khan-e Sadr Esfahani emulating the Safavid Chaharbagh Street.

Discussion on the date and the process of construction for all these streets is beyond the scope of current research, however, presenting a short list of the most important streets will support our discussion as we draw on the interaction and contradiction between the street-construction movement and preservation as an emerging field at this time in the city:

- Hafez Street (earlier called Bigdeli Street) beginning from the north east of Naqsh-e Jahan Square to the west built in 1928⁵²
- Hatef Street built in 1928-1930 which was connected perpendicular to the Hafez Street where later between 1934 and 1935 the Hafez Square was built in their junction for facilitating the vehicular transportation.⁵³
- Donbale roodkhaneh Street built in 1929-1931 which connected the historic Marnan Bridge with Seio-Se Pol Bridge and included Shahpoor and Pahlavi streets on the side of Zayandeh-Rood River mainly for touristic as well as traffic goals.
- Soor-e-Esrafil Street (Ostandari today) 1934-1935 named after Mirza Ghasem Khan-e Tabrizi known as Soore Israfil (or Sure Esrafil) who as mentioned earlier was one of the Isfahan's successful mayors.

An important outcome of this street movement was reaching an embryonic version of urban plan in 1930.⁵⁴ Although this plan's features was far from typical

⁵² Jalal al-Din Humayi Isfahani Shirazi, *Tarikh-e-Isfahan Mojallad-e- Abnieh Va Emaaraat Va Asare Bastanai*, (Tehran: Homa, 1384): 453.

⁵³ Today this square is also called Shekhar Shekan. Ibid, 454

⁵⁴ Akhgar Newspaper, Second year, April 1930, No.343

The approval of the so-called "Streets Plan" also occurred earlier in this year for Tehran. Another milestone in this year with respect to legal aspects of the city development was changing the name of the "Baladeih" to "Shahrdari" meaning municipality along with more precise definition of its rights and responsibilities in

comprehensive plans and was prepared only for reflecting the approved new streets for construction, it can be considered as the first major step towards preparing urban plans during Pahlavi II. Based on this document two sets of streets, arterial and secondary, were approved and proposed by Baladieh and sent to the Ministry of Interior for official approval and declaration.⁵⁵ While the secondary streets included 26 streets with a width between 20 and 8 Zaraa⁵⁶—equal to 8-21 meters—the arterial streets with 30 Zaraa widths—equal to 31 meters—embraced the following:⁵⁷

straight extension of Chaharbagh Street up to Darvaze Dolat till the northern end; developing the Haaj-Kazem-Bridge alley from the side of the river to the Khosh Street and to the Tehran Road;⁵⁸ Developing the Khosh Street in a straight line; Extending the Chaharbagh-e Khajoo Street from the Khajoo Bridge to the south east of Naqsh-e-Jahan Square; Connecting Darvaze Dolat Street to the Naqsh-e-Jahan Square from the both sides of the Historic Chehelsoton Palace⁵⁹ which will be connected to the square opposite to the Bigdeli Caravanserai; the extension of this street will pass from Bigdeli alley towards the Baghala Forsohan neighborhood and then after with a smaller width will be connected to Kehran; and finally extending this street from Baghala Foroshan Street to Atigh Square (Old Square) and the eastern side of the Jami Mosque and Toghchi Square.

This urban document shows the intensity of a rapid modernization dream in Isfahan. Certainly, the compact and old fabric of the city could not support a healthy modern life for its residents. In addition, it could not accommodate the consequent traffic of new transportation systems emerging in the city since the advent of automobile during the Qajar era.⁶⁰ Thus, the construction of new streets in the city was inevitable. Contrary

Tehran which later spread to other cities such as Isfahan . See Seyyed Mohsen Habibi, *Az Shar ta Shahr* (Tehran: Tehran University, 1384): 204-205

⁵⁵ Akhgar Newspaper, Second year, No. 346, April 1929

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ One Zaraa is almost equal to 104 centimeters .The word is Arabic in origin.

⁵⁸ Today Khosh street is called Taaleghani Street.

⁵⁹ It seems that the writer of Akhgar Newspaper is mentioning Sepah Street which reached a dead end on the west side of the square, though later in Pahlavi it was connected to the square. Another hypothesis is that this street has never been built.

⁶⁰ The first automobile arrived in 1902 in Iran and belonged to Mozafaredin Shah Qajar.

to this optimistic justification, the street-oriented modernization had irreversible aftereffects in the historic context. A case in point is bisecting many historic neighborhoods such as Golbahar Neighborhood on the east of Naghsh-e-Jahan square through Hafez, Neshat and Hatef streets with straight lines reflected directly from the paper on the city's physical structure: A reflection without considering the historic and organic-formed context.

The impact was not limited only to a physical rupture in the city's structure since it caused disconnection in social relationships through chopping out the existing Mahallats as the basic structural cells of the city.⁶¹ Besides, the inappropriate city's management during the course of street movement destroyed many of the existing historic buildings and structures. A quote from the book *Isfahan's History* on the construction of the Bist-o-Du Pich Street—later turned to the construction of Hatef Street through a new proposal—testifies to the high level of such an ignorance which destroyed the city's history intermittently:

Another building reminiscent of the Ajam Era, was the Aqasi Mosque placed at the end of the Old Square.The mosque in 1928 turned almost to ashes on account of some people's mistake during the construction of the Bist-o-Du Pich Street, and its antique tiles came destroyed. That, the street, while imposing tremendous expenses upon the government's shoulder, and wreaking vast destruction on the miserable people's houses, appeared as a futile effort at the end. And engineers came, emphatically criticized this street's plan and drew the plan of Hatef Street; however, they incorporated devilish intentions even in that one too.⁶²

⁶¹ Though there is not an exact equal word for Mahalleh, the word Neighborhood can associate this meaning to some extent.

⁶² Mīrzā Ḥasan Khan-i Jābirī Ansārī, *Tārīkh-i isfahān* (in English *Isfahan's History*) (Isfahān: Mash'al, 1378): 116.

The question crossing the mind at this point is why does such a rapid and growing interest in street construction appear in the city? As we mentioned earlier the answer should be sought in the city's industrialization. Moreover, RezaKhanian reform activities for a rationalized management of Iran's cities, specifically with respect to security issues, called for a city with more open spaces such as streets and squares rather than a compact and dense fabric. This could pave the way for easier supervision of citizens' activities—what was hidden before to the security officers' eyes in a compact and dense organic urban fabric. More importantly an integrated and wide street network could provide the possibility of immediate transportation for security guards in case of unwanted events such as demonstrations. Such an attitude in urban design had happened before in Western countries such as what Haussmann had done for Napoleon through inserting boulevards and straight streets in the compact urban fabrics of Paris.

An industrial city requires a fast, efficient, and economical traffic system from inside and outside for transporting its workers, industrial goods, and products. The city historically was founded on the northern side of the Zayand-e-Rood River and organically had been developed during the previous dynasties. Consequently, the vast pristine southern side of the river seemed an ideal opportunity for establishing industrial factories where there used to be farmlands and private Safavid gardens.⁶³

This dashed the last hopes for rehabilitating the remainder of historic gardens such as Bagh Zereshk, or restoring those Safavid gardens that were defaced and destroyed during the Qajar's reign in Isfahan. Some of these destroyed gardens were Ganjalikhan, Surchi Bashi, Sofrechi Bashi, and Mirshekar. Along the gardens,

⁶³ These were textile factories including Risbaaf, Zayandeh Rood, Vattan, Dehesh, Nakhtaab, Roghani, Pa-Afzar Norbakhsh, and also Dehesh Electricity Factory mostly placed on the extension of the Safavid Chaharbagh between the historic Seio-Se-Pol Bridge and today Nazar cross-road.

Namakdan, Haft-Dast, and Ayneh-Khaneh were the Safavid mansions on the side of the river that Isfahan's industrialization left no chance for their restoration.

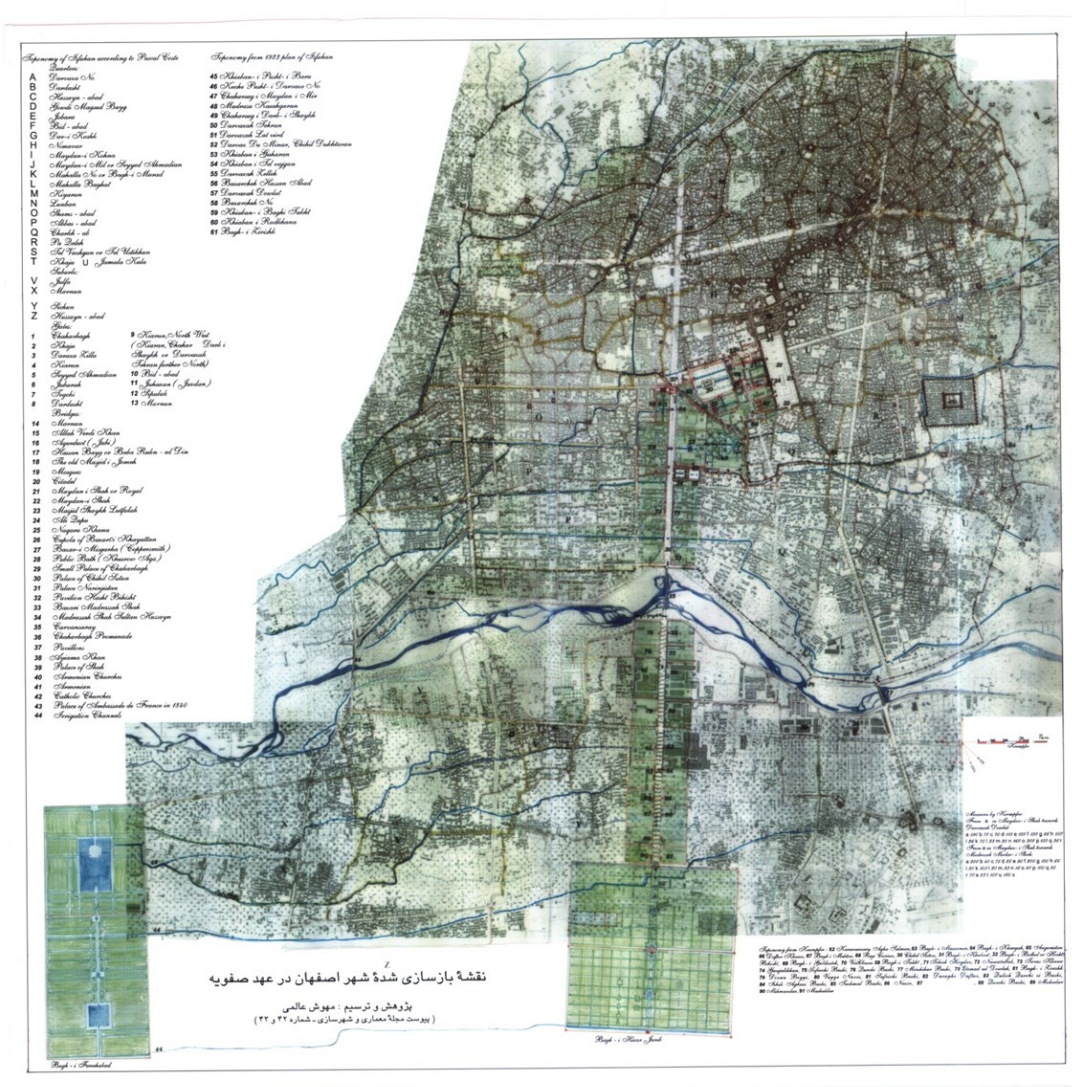


Figure 12: Reconstruction of Safavid Isfahan and its gardens by Mahvash Alami



Figure 13: Left, Namakdan Mansion destroyed gradually during Qajar and Pahlavi, mainly because of industrial constructions (from *Tarikh-i Isfahan* by Jaberi Ansaari, 1378). Right, Pashmbaf Textile Factory in the 1940s, an example of such a construction (*Danesh Nama*, 142-143)

After Reza Khan's visit to Isfahan in fall 1932 and his order for establishing commercial companies, "The Isfahan's Textile Stakeholders Society" was founded which facilitated and expedited the establishment of industrial institutions. Isfahan's industrial progress by 1935 had reached such a point that the city was referred to as "Iran's Manchester."⁶⁴ Along this progress and its aftereffects as a heavy burden on the frail shoulder of the old city, a hope of preserving the historic city appeared in 1930. The SNH's effort to convince the parliament for the passage of the Atighat Law in November 3, 1930 was a reaction to these events. However, the Atighat bylaw was not approved by the Government's Representatives until November 19, 1932. Based on this bylaw all of the relics from the past till the end of Zandieh dynasty, whether monetary or nonmonetary, including industrial/handicraft objects, buildings, and places would be the

⁶⁴ For instance see *Akhgar Newspaper*, Eighth Year, No. 5/4/1083, November 1934. Such a simile came from the Manchester's industrial place at the time in Iranian's minds—mainly because of Iranian's familiarity and relationships with this city for importing the required industrial machines to Iran.

subject of government's preservation and supervision.⁶⁵ Later in 1944, at the time of renewing Andre Godard's position as the chief of the Iran-e Bastan Museum, a new article was added to this bylaw that extended the definition of the heritage domain to embrace the Qajar's industrial heritage and those places with public function built until the beginning of the Constitutional Revolution.⁶⁶

Connecting the North and the South of the river respectively as the residential and the industrial zones, on the one hand, and the approval of the Atighat Law on the other, led to a landmark event in the relationship between preservation and modernization in Isfahan. Although the city's street network was under construction on both sides of the river, it could not contribute to the prosperity of an industrial city unless somehow these streets could connect to each other over the river. There was no time to stop the urban development to find a reasonable solution. Thus, the temporary solutions were of higher priority which in some cases turned into permanent ones at the end. As a temporary solution, now, the historic bridges from Safavid era had to be sacrificed to connect the streets on the two sides of the river. Historic bridges, primary including Marnan, Khajo, and Sie-o-Se Pol, were used for both vehicular and pedestrian access to the factories which were located on the southern side of the river.⁶⁷ The intense use of the bridges forced the city's urban management in 1931 to free the Khajo and Si-o-Se Pol bridges from the heavy traffic of transiting trucks and limit the truck transition only to Marnan Bridge. Such a selection came from the fact that Marnan Bridge, due to the construction

⁶⁵ Zandieh Dynasty (1750-1794) founded by Karim Khan-e Zand ruled on southern and central Iran during the 18th century.

⁶⁶ Lotfullah Honarfar, *Ganjīnah- 'i āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān: Āsār-i bāstānī va alvāḥ va katībah 'hā-yi tārikhī dar ustān-i Isfahān*. (Isfahan: Kitābfurūshī-i saqafi , 1344): 846

⁶⁷ For further study about the origins and the significance of these bridges see Lotfullah-e-Honarfar, *Ganjineh Asare Tarikhi Isfahan*

of Shahpoor⁶⁸ and Nazar streets on its northern and southern extensions, and because of the existence of the city's garages in Shahpoor was more suitable for embracing this function.⁶⁹

Although new streets were first detrimental to the existence of historic bridges, later they changed their roles as their saviors. The accomplishment of new streets' construction including Kamal Esmail and Saeb in 1933 by diverting portion of the traffic from bridges provided a better opportunity for their preservation.⁷⁰ Now the Saeb Street had been connected to Shahpoor and all the heavy vehicles by only passing over the Marnan Bridge could reach the garages and terminals within a reasonable time with no need to pass over the Khajo or Seio-Se Pol bridges. However, this exclusion cost the Marnan Bridge more than what the city management had assumed in first place. Four months later Marnan Bridge's repair was inevitable as Akhgar Newspaper reports on this issue: "Repairing the Marnan Bridge that has started recently by Baladieh, is almost completed and after its completion, again, the southbound trucks will pass through the Marnan Bridge."⁷¹

Around 1932 when first time in Isfahan there was a talk about a new material called asphalt, the urban management began to think of asphaltting the bridges' surfaces, which was approved by the Ministry of Interior.⁷² The advantage of applying this modern material on historic bridge's floor obviated any further need for flattening the bridge's surface with river sands or gravels each year. Although this could detract from their integrity—as in their original place they should be paved with appropriate masonry

⁶⁸ Today this street is called Kashani/Beheshti.

⁶⁹ Akhgar Newspaper, Forth year, March 1932, No.725

⁷⁰ Akhgar Newspaper, Forth year, July 1933, No.860

⁷¹ Akhgar Newspaper, Sixth year, Novemebr 1933, No.897

⁷² Ibid.

material—it could be beneficial in reducing the existing weight on the bridges. Lower weight on the historic bridges meant more stability and fewer repair requirements for their preservation. Despite the approval of this plan, it was not accomplished until 1940 when the bridges were asphalted at the same time of asphaltting Chaharbagh, Sepah, and Khosh streets.⁷³

In spite of all the efforts for resolving the connection issue of the river sides including the construction of new streets, introducing new traffic rules on the bridges, and the application of modern materials, the issue still remained unresolved. The urban management's frustration over this problem even in some cases led to humorous and unusual solutions. A representative case is the suggestion for using the river's bed level for vehicular access during the summer season, when the river's water level is very low. The inefficiency of these solutions all enforced the construction of a new bridge over the river in 1933. The suggested location for this project was in the extension of the recently constructed Shahpoor Street, specifically because of the street's considerable length and its connection to the Tehran's Gate as the most important destination for the city's industrial traffic.

The person in charge of this project was the Baladieh's engineer at the time, Monsieur Nimkar, who suggested the stone and cement as appropriate materials for building the bridge. Although constructing the bridge from the suggested masonry materials could have more harmony with the existing historic bridges, it was finally

⁷³ At the end of 1930s and beginning of 1940s the surface of only a few streets in Isfahan were covered with asphalt. Except for the short Sepah and Sore Israfil streets, and part of Chaharbagh, the rest of the city's streets were dirt roads and the municipality had to sprinkle them every day with certain vehicles. This unhealthy circumstance was another force for asphaltting the city's roads. The first people who were involved in this process were the two Geroberger French brothers. For further study on the time and the process of asphaltting the city's streets see Amir Gholi Amini, "Az Khaterat-e Shahr, Chegoneh Khiabanhaye Shahr Asphalt Shodand". *Danesh Nama*, no.194-195, 2011: 56-60.

constructed from steel and concrete focusing only on functional dimensions while discarding aesthetical ones. This could not be far-fetched in a modern era to select



Figure 14: Sio-Se Pol in the 1930s



Figure 15: Khajo Bridge in the 1960s (from Organic Comprehensive Report, 1348)



Figure 16: Marnan Bridge today during the drought season (Source: Author)

ostentatious materials over old dated ones to show off the presence of modernity at the cost of ignoring the history. Despite the approved 5-year city development program by Baladieh and the Ministry of Interior in 1936, and their emphasis on the bridge construction, this bridge was not built until 1956, after Reza Khan's death.⁷⁴

The importance of these three historic bridges, coming from their location and their vital roles in transportation, caused the lack of attention to other historic bridges such as Pol-e Choobi/Juyi. In this case, because of the budget shortage and the city's high development expenses some of the factories such as Vatan were obligated to take part in the bridges' preservation to provide a portion of its renewal expenses in cooperation with Baladieh. In fact, the regular use of the bridges by factories' workers

⁷⁴ Many reasons are to stand for this, but most importantly was the lack of a cohesive city management. The allocated budget for the bridge construction was used in other urban projects of lower importance. See Akhgar Newspaper, 1933-1934

for pedestrian access from home to work and vice versa was a primary reason in such participatory projects. Moreover, some of the factory holders' benevolent beliefs in city development supported such participation in repairing the historic bridges. A case in point is Mohammad Kazeroni, who owned the Vatan factory. He cooperated with Baladieh in renovating the Shahrestan Bridge⁷⁵ which was not more than a ruin at the time of renovation.⁷⁶

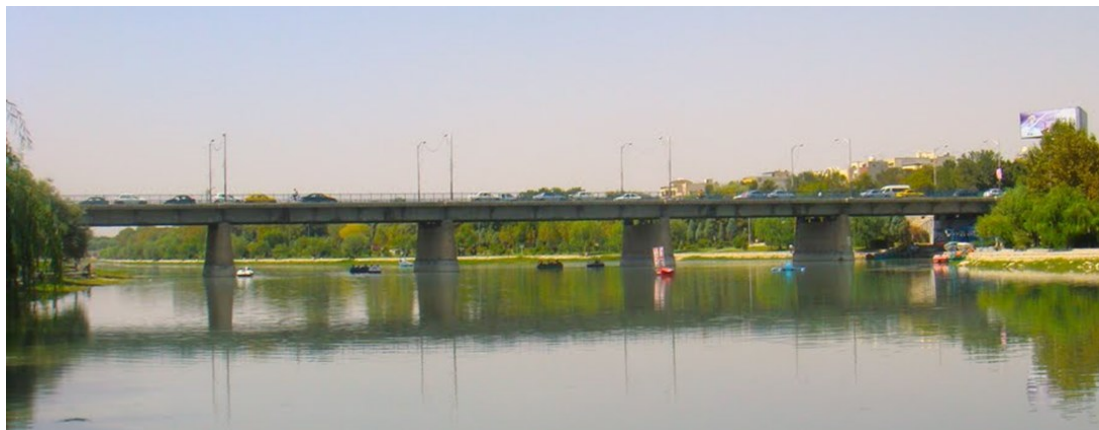


Figure 17: Felezi Bridge today (Source: Author)

Pahlavi I was also an idealistic era to begin preservation as an outstanding field beside architecture, though not independent of it. Before Pahlavi during the Qajar period, except for minor preservation measures, never any organized action focused on the conservation of Isfahan's historic features was implemented in the city.

⁷⁵ Shahrestan is the oldest bridge on Zayandeh Rood River. Although its architectural style is completely Sasanid, the top was renovated by the 10th century Deylamids and finally during the 11th century Seljuk period. The foundations are from the 3rd-7th century Sasanid era.

⁷⁶ Akhgar Newspaper, Seventh year, October 1935, No.1082



Figure 18: Shahrestan Bridge at the beginning of Pahlavi (from *Tarikh-i Isfahan* by Jaber Ansari, 1378)

Consequently, during the constitutional revolution many of the historic buildings became obsolete and deteriorated and were left in a critical condition until the beginning of the Pahlavi era.⁷⁷ The SNH's activities in the country, considering the vast number of existing historic buildings in Isfahan, could not overlook this critical condition. As a result, a set of lectures and seminars were organized to bring the importance of Isfahan's historic buildings and their preservation to the public's eyes as well as to discuss the possible strategies for their conservation.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ A brief review on the Travelogues written by travellers at this time substantiates this fact. For instance see the French Pierre Loti's Travelogue who travelled to Iran in 1904. Pierre Loti, *Vers Ispahan: Besoye Esfahan*, Translated by Badredin Ketabi. (Tehran: Eghbal, 1372).

⁷⁸ A case in point was the Mohammad Ali Foroghi's lecture in April 1927 given in Isfahan to the SNH's invitation and under the title "Thoughts and Observations on National Heritage within the Trip to Isfahan and Shiraz." Foroghi's words in this lecture while drawing on the worldwide importance of salient buildings such as Jami, Shah, and Sheikh Lutf-o-Allah Mosques, on one hand show the critical condition of

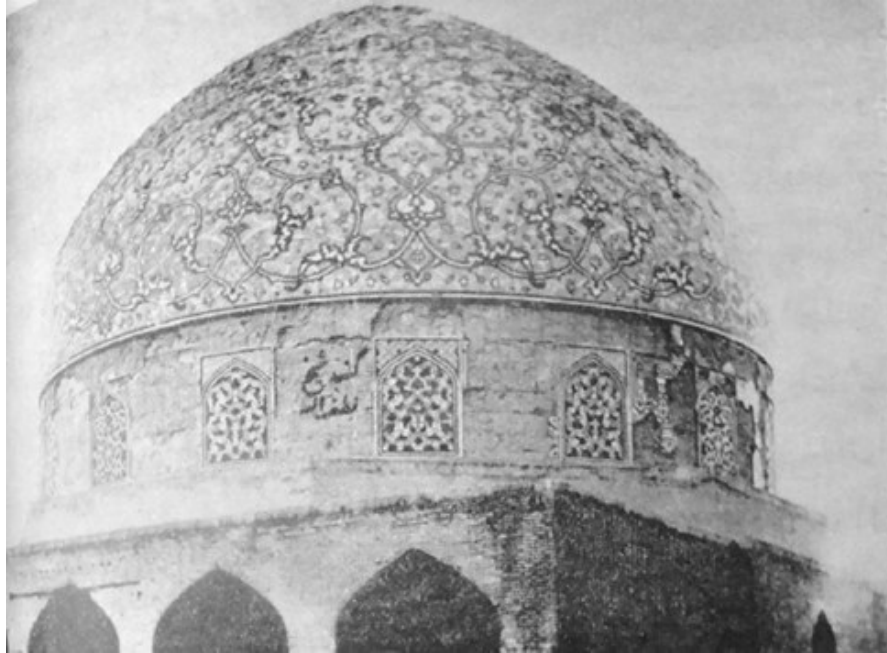


Figure 19: Poor condition of Sheikh Lotf Allah Mosque at the end of Qajar
(from *Ganjīnah-i āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān*, 1344)

Professional preservation of Isfahan's historic buildings began in 1932 with measures taken for repairing the large crack in Shah Mosque's Iwan in Naqsh-e Jahan Square.⁷⁹ This was later extended to repairs for the surrounding walls of the square and the dome of the Sheikh Lotf-Allah Mosque. The architectural and urban significance of this square with its Safavid style and its consistent urban function—despite a decline during the Qajar era—beginning from Pahlavi I defines the main subject of preservation

Isfahan's historic buildings, and on the other, show the serious national commission for their preservation and restoration. For studying the Foroghi's speech see Lotfullah Honarfar, *Ganjīnah-i āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān*: 841-845

⁷⁹ Though first it was assumed that this crack is a result of the land movement, Godard's hypothesis was more plausible that the crack is a result of the heavy snow and its weight. To repair this crack, he ordered a specific type of asphalt with elastic features from Europe to fill the crack. Akhgar Newspaper, Fourth year, March 10, 1932, No.725

attentions. The first survey of the Naqsh-e Jahan square for construction and preservation activities paved the ground for more conservation activities in the square. This survey was conducted in November 1932 by the commissioned engineer for the Ministry of Interior, Mousier Fersih, who was involved in most of Isfahan's projects in cooperation with Andre Godard.⁸⁰ Following this survey, the first interventions in the square for its renovation occurred in February 1933 including the insertion of a new pool in the middle of the square to adapt it with new climatic requirements in a dry climate.⁸¹ Along these positive contributions to the renovation and preservation of the square, in some cases unprincipled interventions in the square defaced its integrity mentioned in some of the Isfahan's historical texts:

Around the Meydan was a creek with a width of six steps, flanked by elongated and wide stones. The creek's bed paved with planar stones, within contained the water streamed lucidly with purity and beauty. In 1928 and 1929, when they transformed the Meydan's figure, Shahandeh removed those stones each worthy--dated back to the Moshar-al-Dolleh era--of one hundred thousand Tomans. The creeks were covered with earth and the stones rotted and turned into pieces.⁸²

Preservation of historic buildings in the city was not limited only to physical interventions. Historic rehabilitation through assigning modern functions to old buildings was another strategy for reconciliation between modernization and preservation in Isfahan. Such an act was first accomplished in Chehelsoton Palace under the Godard's supervision in 1932.⁸³ Chehelsoton's preservation was now delegated to Baladiekh to turn

⁸⁰ Akhgar Newspaper, Fifth year, Novemebr 13, 1932, No.796

⁸¹ For information about the process and the difficulties of this project see Abdolmehdi Rajayee, *Urban Changes and Management of Esfahan in Pahlavi I Period*: 480-490

⁸² Mīrzā Ḥasan Khan-i Jābirī Ansārī, *Tārīkh-i isfahān*: 148

⁸³ Chehel Soton is a palace located in a garden with 67000 Sqm adjacent to Safavid Dolatkhaneh (the Safavid Governmental mansions) and was built by Shah Abbas II to be used for his entertainment and receptions. The reflection of the palace's pillars in the large pool in front of it is a salient feature of the garden that seemed to be a preplanned design idea.

it into Baladieh's Museum for displaying antiquities collected from other historic structures and buildings in the city.

Along with these positive approaches, sometimes abusive profitable interventions were inevitable. The intention for subdividing the garden of Safavid Hasht Behesht shows part of such interventions by unknown hands. Ali Asghar Hekmat's visit from Isfahan in 1935, who was the Maaref Minister as well as the SNH's member at the time,⁸⁴ blocked such activities to some extent and marked another beginning for the national registration of Isfahan's historic monuments.⁸⁵

By 1940 Isfahan was turning into a vibrant city which on the one hand was industrialized, and on the other had been prepared to become a touristic destination thanks to its developing preservation measures. These two features though individually in progress, were more in contradiction rather than interaction when we look at them as a whole. In other words, the lack of a master plan in its modern terms to direct their interaction was a major cause for such a conflict. Although preservation of individual historic buildings was experiencing a progressive period, the industrialization process—read modernization at this time—in most cases had the last word when it comes to juxtaposing the new and old. As we explored here this best can be seen during the street-oriented movement and its impact on the city's historic bridges. On this basis, similar to what was happening around the world during this time the tinge of the final outcome was clearer on the modernization side rather than the preservation one.

⁸⁴ Based on the passed law on 9/4/1910 Maaref Ministry was in charge of research, education, cultural activities, archeological excavation, and preservation of historic buildings in the country. For detailed information see <http://rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/show/90121>

⁸⁵ Akhgar Newspaper, Seventh year, March 1937, No. 1025

From 1941 to the end of the Second World War Iran despite of declaring its impartiality got involved in the war. The following chain of events while on the 25th of August 1941 led to the end of the Pahlavi I, delayed the continuity of the cities' progress including Isfahan for a short time.⁸⁶ Though Iran was experiencing a short span of chaotic time, the modernization had remained dormant waiting for an opportunity to rise anew: This time in Pahlavi II, more organized in accordance with preservation of individual buildings, and more detrimental to the old city's integrity with respect to urban development.



Figure 20: Reza Shah with Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in a visit from Persepolis, accompanied by Herzfeld standing in the foreground (*Ganjīnah- 'i āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān*, 1344)

⁸⁶ In some cases, the recession in industry had occurred not only because of the war and the difficulties for importing and repairing factories' devices, but also, because of the uncontrolled imports from foreign countries such as clothes from US. These imported clothes with a low price and in vast numbers limited the arena for a fair competition between textile factories' products and the already woven clothes. See Abdolmehdi Rajayee, *Urban Changes and Management of Esfahan in Pahlavi I Period: 700-705*

SECTION 3: PAHLAVI II

Chapter 5: Preservation and Developing Modernism

Asaar (Heritages) the plural of Asar (Heritage), in the Taazi language associates with things remaining from people in the past. In archeology National Heritages denote a set of objects displaying the level of a nation's civilization, culture, art, and ingenuity, such as mansions and ancient artifacts. Their style and method of construction or their design, plans, and painting manner represent the culture, art, and civilization of their constructors and founders.⁸⁷

This definition of heritage at the beginning of the book published by SNH, *Isfahan's National Heritage*, was in fact the state's vision on what destination modernization and preservation should seek during the new rein of Pahlavi II. The radical changes in the political atmosphere of Iran in 1941 and the exile of Reza Shah to Johannesburg all ended in a sudden transition of power from father to the son, Mohammad Reza Shah.⁸⁸

The son, unlike the father, had been educated in West since he was eleven.⁸⁹ The result of such an educational background was following the father's path in modernizing the country, though this time through emphasizing more on the administrative rationalization of modernity rather than the militarism constituent. In fact, if Reza Khan was seeking capitalism, administrative rationalization, and industrialization as consequences of militarism, Mohammad Reza Shah was seeking these all as a

⁸⁷ Abul-Ghasem-e Rafiee Mehr-Abadi, *Asare Melli Isfahan* (Tehran: SNH, 1973) : 1.

⁸⁸ See Ali Dehbashi, *khaterate Sif Poor-e Fatemi*, (Tehran: Shahab, 1378)

Also, see Nikki R. Keddie, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution*, (Yale University Press, 2006):80-132

⁸⁹ By the time Mohammad Reza turned 11, his father deferred to the recommendation of Abdolhossein Teymourtash to dispatch his son to Institut Le Rosey, a Swiss boarding school for further studies. He would be the first Iranian prince in line for the throne to be sent abroad to attain a foreign education and remained there for the next four years before returning to obtain his high school diploma in Iran in 1936. After returning to the country, the Crown Prince was registered at the local military academy in Tehran where he remained enrolled until 1938.

Iran Chamber Society, "Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi",

http://www.iranchamber.com/history/mohammad_rezashah/mohammad_rezashah.php (accessed August 15, 2013)

consequence of establishing the administrative rationalization and bureaucracy in Iran. However, they both shared one mind in the process of modernizing the country: Nationalism. Selecting the title AryaMehr in 1965, the Sun of Aryans, once again Mohammad Reza Pahlavi insisted on this approach seeking the root of the nation in Aryanism.

While Reza Khan has defined the foundation of modernization in Iran, his son's efforts aimed at developing the construction of father's ideal modernism, and this time through the support of newfound world powers such as the US. His White Revolution program is an appropriate example depicting the steps taken towards westernization in Iran. His hope for having a wider arena in making decisions on the physical development of the country was one of the major causes behind these reform activities. His so-called Eslahate-Arzi⁹⁰ measures on the one hand could limit the landlords' influence among the working class and peasants, turning them to Shah's supporters, and on the other hand could bring Shah's bureaucracy more opportunities for providing the required land during the state's infrastructural development.⁹¹ Thus, the White Revolution in Iran represented a new scene of dispute between introducing reform and modernization from above, and preserving traditional power patterns from below. An interpretation of this would be a set of bureaucratic efforts to undermine the religious entity such as reducing the religious

⁹⁰ "Land Alteration" in translation from Persian to English

⁹¹ The Shah's White Revolution beginning from 1963 embraced 19 articles introduced within 15 years as follow:

1. Land Reforms Program and Abolishing "Feudalism Nationalization of Forests and Pasturelands
2. Privatization of the Government Owned Enterprises, 3. Profit Sharing, 4. Extending the Right to Vote to Women, 5. Formation of the Literacy Corps 7. Formation of the Health Corps, 8. Formation of the Reconstruction and Development Corps 9. Formation of the Houses of Equity, 10. Nationalization of all Water Resources, 11. Urban and Rural Modernization and Reconstruction, 12. Didactic Reforms, 13. Workers' Right to Own Shares in the Industrial Complexes, 14. Price Stabilization 15. Free and Compulsory Education, 16. Free Food for Needy Mothers, 17. Introduction of Social Security and National Insurance, 18. Stable and Reasonable Cost of Renting or Buying of Residential Properties, 19. Introduction of Measures to Fight against Corruption. See Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, *The White Revolution of Iran* (Tehran: Imperial Pahlavi Library, 1967).

clergies' influence on managing *Waqf* properties, specifically when it comes to the land subject.⁹²

Reza Khan's reform activities with respect to the invention of heritage through the Tomb Architecture approach—except for the construction of the Tomb of Ferdowsi—were not accomplished unless after his death, specifically when we review the case of Isfahan.⁹³ Even it takes a decade after the beginning of Mohammad Reza Shah's monarchy in Iran to see the result of his infrastructural works in the country. On this basis, the first interaction of preservation and modernization through the concept of tomb architecture was not realized unless after 1967 when the construction of the Saeb Tomb was completed by SNH.

Saeb Tabrizi was the most famous poet of the Safavid Era born in Isfahan around 1592, and is recognized as a founder of a Persian poetry style known as Indian style. This reputation was convincing enough for the SNH to think of a tomb architecture deserving the poet's reputation. Since Saeb was buried in a garden belonging since 1930 to the *Waqf* property of the Lonban Mosque, from 1957 till 1962 a set of legal campaign by

⁹² A *waqf*, also spelled *wakf*, (Arabic: وقف, pronounced ['waqf]; plural Arabic: أوقاف, *awqāf*; Turkish: vakıf, Urdu: وقف) is, under the context of 'sadaqah', an inalienable religious endowment in Islamic law, typically donating a building or plot of land or even cash for Muslim religious or charitable purposes. The donated assets are held by a charitable trust.

Mohamed Ariff (ed.), *Islam and the Economic Development of Southeast Asia: The Muslim Private Sector in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991): 42.

⁹³ Another exception can be the construction and restoration of the Tomb of Hafez in Shiraz with the nationalism idea in mind accomplished in 1938; however from another perspective this project would be more connected with Pahlavi II since the last years of Reza Khan's rein in Iran were mostly detached from pursuing such subject matters and more attached with worldwide political events such as his interest in approaching Germany. His lack of interest for attending the inauguration of the Hafez Tomb, and contrary, his son's interest in the construction of Hafez Tomb and introducing it as an appropriate pattern for the SNH's similar projects, such as Sadieh, substantiate this fact. See Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, Architecture, and National Heritage under the Pahlavi Monarchs*. (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009): 83-111.

SNH and Iranian's poets was launched to free the land for the new construction.⁹⁴ Finally in 1963, after a meeting between Isfahan's governor and the SNH members, Mohsen Foroghi, also a member of SNH, was appointed as the designer and supervisor of the project.⁹⁵ Foroghi's proposal represented a simple tall Iwan based on the Safavid era's style dominated as a Koshk (Kiosk) in a garden looking towards an elongated pool in front of that. This proposal was inspired by being reminiscent of Saeb's life era and the city's most prosperous life period, Safavieh.

A combination of concrete and steel structure finished with walls and columns in marble and tiles along with traditional mirror work on the ceiling, the design was a simple cube articulated through traditional arches and ornaments. Lessons learned from earlier structural constructions such as in the Tomb of Ferdowsi and the flaws in its foundation, urged Foroghi to pay specific attention to the structural design, not only with respect to the building itself, but also in connection with the adjacent site.⁹⁶ After five years, the tomb's construction finished in 1967 and was open to public as a touristic destination. This cultural move was supplemented by the SNH's efforts for compiling and publishing Saeb's poems in the same year.⁹⁷

Despite this successful completion of Saeb Tomb, sometimes the SNH's efforts in Isfahan fell short of successful results, and in most cases modernization had a major role in hindering the preservation efforts. A case in point is the construction of a new tomb for

⁹⁴ *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 390-394

⁹⁵ See the next chapter for information about Foroghi.

⁹⁶ The foundation was as deep as 2.30 meters and as wide as 90 centimeter along with all the required sealing principles to prevent from moisture migration through the foundation, what has happened before in the Tomb of Ferdowsi because of superficial design of foundation. *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 401-404

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 418.

Kamal Ismail on the north east side of the Sio-Se Pol Bridge.⁹⁸ Although this never came to be true, beginning from Pahlavi I in 1930 for twenty years there was a talk about moving Kamal's grave to a new place on the side of a proposed street called Kamal Ismail after the name of the poet. A small arch was even built in the assigned place for further development after the grave movement. In 1970, the poor condition of the mausoleum compelled the Isfahanian poets to ask SNH for restarting the project. This finally led to appointing Foroghi and Bagher-e Shirzai as the project's manager by SNH.⁹⁹ By 1975 the site's enclosure finished on the north east of Sio-Se Pol and was ready for landscape design and the main building's construction.

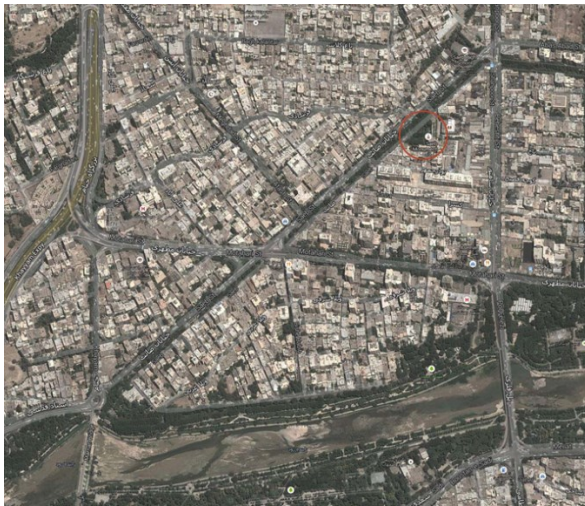


Figure 21: The location of the Saeb Garden today in the city

⁹⁸ Kamal-al-Din Esmail was the last Qasida Sara and one of the famous Persian poets of the early 13th century. He was killed by Moguls at the time of their attack to Persia. His mausoleum is located in Jewbarez Neighborhood in Isfahan beside the mausoleum of the Jewish prophet Shaya.

⁹⁹ The contract was signed later with Shirazi on 1975. *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 680-685
Bagher-e Ayatollah Zade Shirazi (1936-2006), a graduate from Tehran and Rome Universities, respectively in architecture and preservation, was the chair of the Isfahan's Heritage Organization at the time and is considered as the founder of academic preservation in Iran.

The construction of the tomb and the extension of the new street Kamal Ismail were contingent upon each other. Ironically, while the construction of the street first was linked to the construction of the tomb, as the time passed the latter and former changed their places when the tomb was seen as an obstacle for the extension of the street.¹⁰⁰ The delay caused from the required design revision, the political atmosphere of the city four years before the Islamic Revolution, the project's financial issues, and the ideal land location all stopped the project's progress.¹⁰¹ Within the early years after revolution the land was built up with other functions such as offices and residential dashing the last hopes for constructing a new tomb.¹⁰²

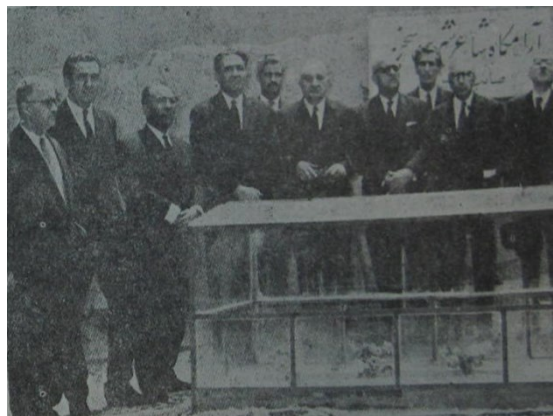


Figure 22: Local authorities and SNH members in Isfahan standing beside the Saeb Grave before restoration C.1963: From right to left: Isa Sadiq, General Firooz, Hasan Mashhoon, General Agh Oli, Ali Asghar Hekmat, ?, Parsa, Ali Akbar Shahabi (The head of the Waqf and Owqaf at the time), Ahmad Kashanian (The chair of the SNH's finance), Seyyed Mohammad Taghi Mostafavi From Abul-Ghasem-e Rafiee Mehr-Abadi, *Asare Melli Isfahan* (Tehran: SNH, 1973)

¹⁰⁰ This is perceptible from the letter wrote by Shirazi in 1967 to the National Organizing of Heritage Preservation about the possible alternatives to avoid blocking the street's extension. *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 682-683

¹⁰¹ Mohammad Reza Shah decree to dissolve the People and the New Iran Parties to create a one-party state as Resurgence Party was a reaction to the country's political circumstance at this time.

¹⁰² After the revolution, between 2000 and 2008 the Saeb Mausoleum and the Shaya Tomb both were repaired and renovated in the original place.



Figure 23: The Tomb of Saeb Today (Source: Author)



Figure 24: A view from the tomb's interior towards the Saeb's grave and the garden; the building with blue margins on the background is the Saeb Library added during the 1990s (Source: Author)



Figure 25: A view from the Saeb Tomb's interior (Source: Author)



Figure 26: A view along the elongated pool towards the Saeb Tomb

The last SNH efforts on the subject of tomb architecture both in Isfahan and Iran materialized in 1972: a reflection of Arthur Upham Pope's thoughts on Persian art and a result of the late Pahlavi's manner in design. In October 1965, Isa Sadiq, the SNH's Vice President, received a letter from Arthur Pope who was writing from Warren, Connecticut.¹⁰³ The first lines of the letter read this:

My Dear Sadiq,

Concerning all matters pertaining to a final resting place for both of us, all negotiations are in your hands and you have my authority to make any arrangements that you think are satisfactory.

Pope continues to explain on the desire for his and her wife's burial in Isfahan, where all of their feelings go. He also provided the main reason behind this will:

....The whole point is to show the Persian people that their great spirits, artists, poets, creative leaders, scholars are of such quality as to evoke the profoundest admiration of kindred spirits in other lands, who affirm their gratitude and devotion in more than words, and to affirm to visitors from other countries that one is not interned in Persia by the accident of dying there, but with the conviction that it is a holy ground and a privilege for those who understand it to use it as a final resting place, as a witness of their faith in the land and the great

¹⁰³ The complete text of the letter is as follow:

"My Dear Sadiq,

Concerning all matters pertaining to a final resting place for both of us, all negotiations are in your hands and you have my authority to make any arrangements that you think are satisfactory."

Isfahan is, of course, my special love, where my most important work was done and my greatest happiness. It would be an appropriate place insofar as my own sentiments go. All such matters I leave to you.

As you know his Majesty has twice approved of this arrangement, but my recent collapse makes it desirable for me to have some assurance that—if an urn with ashes had to be shipped to Persia, they would be properly received and disposed of there.

The whole point is to show the Persian people that their great spirits, artists, poets, creative leaders, scholars are of such quality as to evoke the profoundest admiration of kindred spirits in other lands, who affirm their gratitude and devotion in more than words, and to affirm to visitors from other countries that one is not interned in Persia by the accident of dying there, but with the conviction that it is a holy ground and a privilege for those who understand it to use it as a final resting place, as a witness of their faith in the land and the great personalities that have through the many centuries made it what it has been and, at the same time, prophesize a noble future.

You are very good to attend to this, with all the other matters in your mind.

Devotedly yours,

Arthur Upham Pope." *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 431.

personalities that have through the many centuries made it what it has been and, at the same time, prophesize a noble future.....

Affected by the letter, in response to it in a series of cooperative works between SNH and Isfahan's governor, Ebrahim Parsa, a land on the north side of the historic Khajo Bridge located inside a park boundary was assigned to this purpose. Foroghi and Shirazi, who had proved their successful cooperation in previous projects, again were appointed to manage the design and construction of a tomb for Arthur Upham Pope and his wife, Phyllis Ackerman. After Arthur Pope and Phyllis Ackerman's visits from the tomb site, and their satisfactory comments on its location, Pope requested from Foroghi to design the tomb based on his beloved era of Persian architecture, the Samanid Era.

Categorically, Pope was the only subject of tomb architecture who could see his own tomb and its architecture before his death, and this could bring him the possibility of selection and change through the course of its design. Thus, it won't be illogical if we mention this modern architecture as a result of collaboration among architecture, historic preservation, and Persian art, respectively correspondent with Foroghi, Shirazi, and Pope as their supporters. In his book *Persian Architecture* Pope has insinuated his cherished design era and his ideal mausoleum in the history of Persian architecture:

By the second half of the ninth century a genuine Persian renaissance was developing in Khurasan. Under the brilliant Samanid dynasty claiming Sassanian ancestry, from Bokhara and Samarkand throughout the tenth century, a new yet characteristically Persian culture emerged, one of the most exceptional and creative in Persian history. Only one monument survives, but that of finest in Persia: the mausoleum of Ismail Samanid in Bokhara. Both in structural development and in its brilliant decorative deployment of material it exerted a strong influence on subsequent Islamic architecture.¹⁰⁴

Consequently Pope asked Foroghi to design his mausoleum with the style of Persia's tenth century architecture. The resemblance between the Pope's Tomb and the

¹⁰⁴ Pope, Arthur Upham, *Persian Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965): 41-42

Ismail Samanid's mausoleum confirms that the mausoleum has been the inspiring source of design. Proportion, the art of brickwork, and the simple yet impressive scale of the mausoleum all redefined with contemporary materials were the important features reflected in a modern design of the tomb by Foroghi.¹⁰⁵

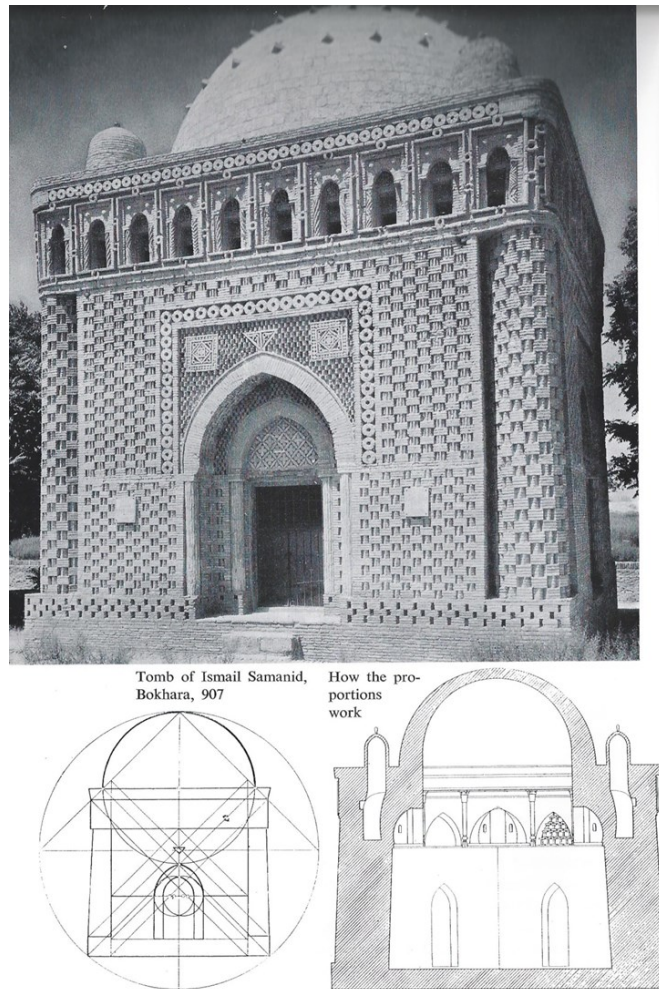


Figure 27: The Mausoleum of Ismail Samani in Arthur Upham Pope's book, *Introduction of Persian Architecture* showing his ideal prototype of Persian architecture

¹⁰⁵ The construction process of the tomb of Ackerman and Pope is also discussed in some other sources. See Talinn Grigor, *Building Iran: Modernism, architecture, and national heritage under the pahlavi monarchs*. (New York: Periscope Publishing, 2009) and Hūshang Mazāhirī, *Ārāmgāh-i khārijīyān dar Isfahān*. (Isfahān: Ghazal, 1382).



Figure 28: Views from the Tomb of Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman today in a park on the northern side of Zayanderood River: Compare the tomb design with that of Ismail Samani (Source: author)



Figure 29: View of the tomb's entrance door—which is not accessible today—looking towards the Zayanderood River

The year 1972, when the tomb's construction was completed—two years after Pope's death—was in fact the end of a design attitude in which preservation of national identity could find its response in creative and modern architectural solutions. The political ambience of the country in 1970s and the Shah's consequent and excessive autocracy in decision making caused the ineffectiveness of many intuitions in the country including SNH, and turned them to only legal institutions for rubber stamping the elite's wills. Despite this drawback, the brilliant achievement of SNH through its whole six decades of life is admirable: an achievement in defining a new architecture within the discourse of Persian modernism where preservation has the same value, if not more, as of modernization.¹⁰⁶

Despite the end of collaboration between modernization and preservation in tomb architecture, the concept of Aryanism and Persian modernism in architecture survived for a longer time. As a matter of fact, the tomb architecture was the provenance of the city's architecture, specifically with respect to institutional and administrative buildings. The concept of drawing on the history of Persian art and architecture as an inspiring source in design had permeated and penetrated the designers' minds from tomb architecture intensively to the point that it was difficult to put it aside clinically. This mentality nurtured by the concept of tomb architecture since Reza Khan's monarchy, developed side by side in both Pahlavi dynasties. The chapter *Architecture Positioned to*

¹⁰⁶ Yet another point to be cautious about is the difference in SNH's architectural intervention in Iran's cities from that in Isfahan. In Isfahan the presence of a strong historic urban structure from Safavieh has predefined a design framework not only within Pahlavi, but also as we can see before, during the Qajar era. Any architecture willing to fit this design framework should first have had more a preservation-historic taste rather than a modern-impressive one to juxtapose itself within this urban context. In other words, the value of a modern design was first in corresponding with the existing context and then in architectural innovations. This is while in other cities this framework was not that much tangible as we can see in Hushang-e Seyhoon's architecture in the Tomb of Avicenna in Hamadan where a tower inspired in its design by the historic Gonbad-e Qabus Tower rises 27.5 meters in the city's skyline.

Preservation will explore the forces and samples of such a mentality and its physical outcomes in the arena of the city.

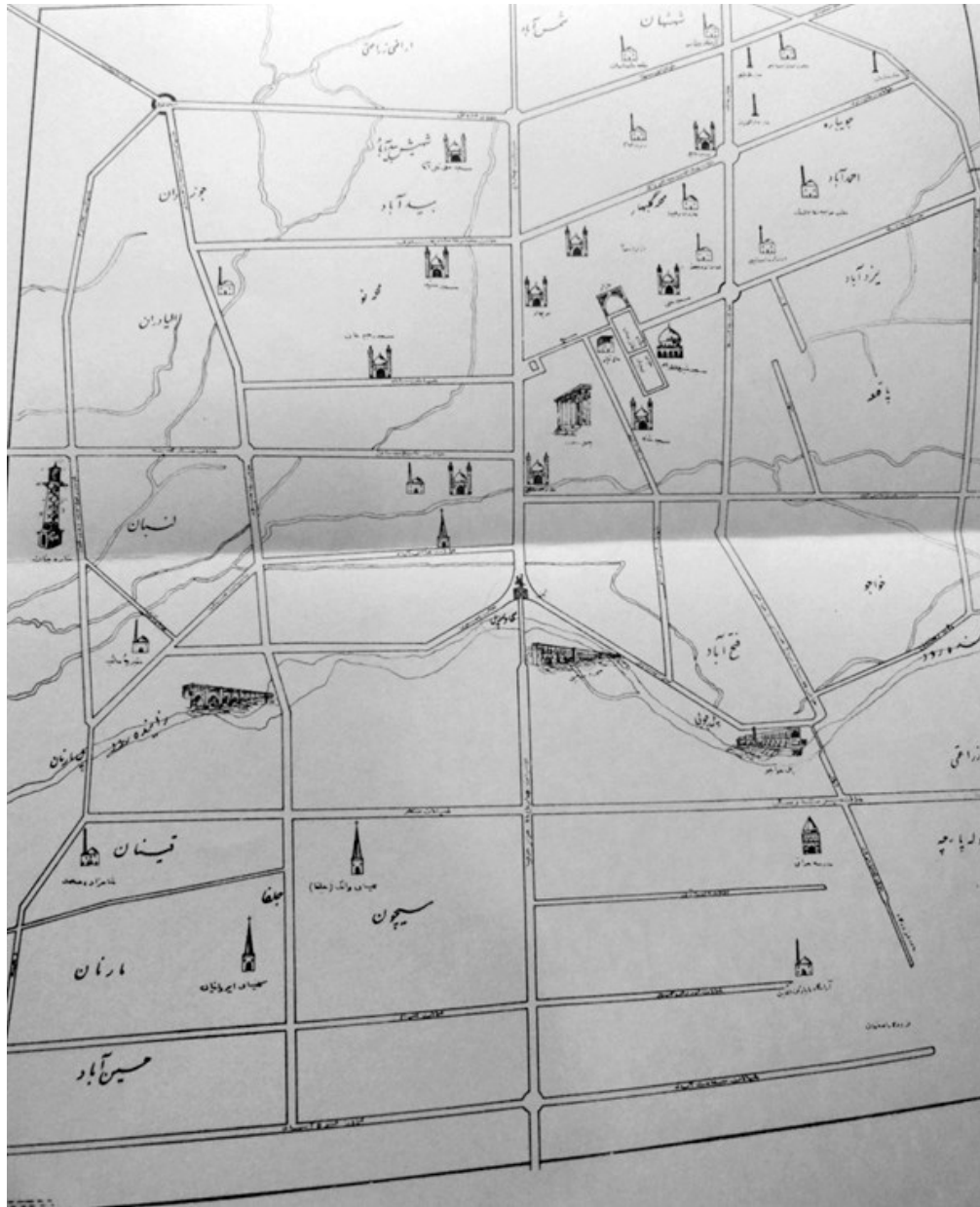


Figure 30: Map from the book *Asare Melli Isfahan*, published in 1973, showing the location of Isfahan's important registered historic buildings and the existing streets in the 1970s

Chapter 6: Preservation Theory and Practice

Iran's modernity and heritage like elsewhere was conditioned by painstaking process of reconciliation between universal notions of modernity and local identities; However in Isfahan returning to the roots and traditions was much stronger than leaving the ground simply to modernism's parade. In a place enriched with multifarious historic monuments, a long history culminated during Safavid Era, and the consequent dominant urban structure achieved through creative as well as cohesive architecture during a long history, it was impossible to ignore the history and its preservation. In other words in Isfahan the memory built based on the past long life, accumulated within the vast number of existing historic monuments, had narrowed the arena on memory construction through the heritage invention.

The city's collective memory, instead of memory invention, needs organized activities to preserve it for future generations. The perception of this fact, the undesirable aftereffects of modern movements appearing gradually in the world, Shah's underlying compromise on dignifying religion because of its growing influence in the state's political condition, and the consequent attention to religious buildings such as mosques, made a minor shift in SNH's efforts in early 1960s towards favoring preservation over modernization, and Islamic architecture over the pre-Islamic one. This heritage preservation though had started earlier in Pahlavi I by repairing the large crack in the Shah Mosque's Iwan, now it was seeking a legitimate authorization in academic and professional dimensions. The establishment of the National Society of Cultural Heritage Preservation (NSCHP) in 1965 within the direction of SNH was a result of such an attitude.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Jokilehto, Jukka, *A History of Architectural Conservation*. (England, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999): 245-281

While in Pahlavi I, orientalist's contribution was more considerable to the invention of heritage, in Pahlavi II, it was more tangible to the preservation of heritage. This in Isfahan with more historical monuments and built areas than archeological sites called for architects and preservationists, rather than orientalist, to preserve the historic monuments instead of excavating their sites. The only orientalist who still had an influential presence in the state and specifically in Isfahan are Arthur Upham Pope and his wife, Phyllis Ackerman.

Another reason which obviated further needs for the presence of earlier western orientalist in Iran at this time was the presence of Italian scholars, who now years after the WWII were leading the preservation knowledge in the world.¹⁰⁸ Besides, concerning the political atmosphere during the Pahlavi II, especially in its second half, the former foreign relationships with France—the main source of Pahlavi I's orientalist—was waning and replaced by new relationships with US which could affect preservation as did in many other disciplines. Drawing on the preservation knowledge of the new Italian professionals such as Giuseppe Tucci and Eugene Galdieri, and vernacularizing preservation by the aid of Iranians graduated from Tehran and Western universities with a praxis as of Ecole Beaux Arts, preservation began to foster its meaning.

In addition to SNH's efforts, the theoretical origin of this conceptual nurturing in preservation should be sought in bringing the importance of Persian art and architecture

¹⁰⁸ The emergence of the modern renovation and restoration approach in Italy primarily goes back to the thoughts of philosophers and art historians such as Benedetto Croce (1866-1952) and Giulio Carlo Argan (1909-1994). In 1930s the concepts of architectural conservation were widely discussed and led to the publication of a set of guidelines in Italy. After the war, the principles of scientific preservation and restoration, again, though this time more focused on the destruction caused by the war appeared. This continuous development of the conservation knowledge after the WWII, led to the formation of new theories in restoration such as the Cesare Brandi's (1906-1988) theory of creative process published in his important essay *Teoria del Restauro* (Restoration Theory) in 1963. Ibid. 223-237

to the governors' eyes through the aid of the orientalists. Among these orientalists, Arthur Upham Pope and his wife Phyllis Ackerman were in fact the only orientalists who were linking the events in art, architecture and preservation in and between Pahalvi I and Pahalvi II. Since the beginning of their work in Iran when Pope's speech influenced Reza Shah for a major reform on the interpretation of the Persian history,¹⁰⁹ his devotion to Persian art and Isfahan as his "special love," defined his future path in professional life.¹¹⁰ His recommendations to Reza Shah to promote the tourist industry in Isfahan including the improvement of the health quality in the city, openness of religious sites to all visitors, and construction of modern hotels, though simple recommendations were effective to promote the city's tourism industry through the whole life of the Pahlavi dynasty.¹¹¹

In 1928, when Pope founded the American Institute of Persian Art and Archeology—incorporated in New York City in 1930 and later changed and merged into Asia Institute in 1947—he was in fact establishing a podium to disseminate and introduce Persian art and architecture in the world outside their local boundaries. Through the international conferences, exhibitions, and lectures that he held outside Iran, such as in Leningrad, London, and New York he tried to introduce the Persian art and its considerable universal impact on other arts, architectures, and civilizations.

Although Godard and Herzfeld contributions to enriching the Persian art and architecture knowledge—specifically when it comes to practical rather than theoretical contributions—surpass Pope's efforts, Pope's study was more focused on Isfahan. In addition, his well-established connection with the royal court and elites distinguished him

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 2.

¹¹⁰ *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 431.

¹¹¹ Akhgar Newspaper, First year, No. 128, 1929.

and secured his presence in both Pahlavi dynasties. Arranging several exhibitions and conferences in US coincided by his six-volume *Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* published by Oxford Press in 1938-1939 was part of his contribution to the art revival in Iran. This was followed by his other publications such as *Masterpieces of Persian Art*, *Persian Architecture: The Triumph of Form and Color*, and *Persian Architecture*.¹¹² Despite his cultural contribution to the discourse of Persian art, a drawback was his role as an art buyer and merchant between Iran and Western countries which in some cases made him talk more in favor of the customers rather than the art itself.¹¹³

Now the value of Isfahan's historic architecture and art by the aid of orientalists such as Pope and Godard in two Pahlavi dynasties had been introduced locally and globally. There was an enriched database on the features and origins of Persian architecture and it was time to utilize this achievement in a local practice to preserve it for future generations. The return of Iranian scholars to Isfahan specialized in conservation specifically from Italy's academic institutions was a response to such a mentality. This auspicious return, paved the ground for a collaborative preservation with western architects and conservationists to save the landmark buildings. Many of these scholars and conservationists were in fact the second and third generations of architects who after graduation from Tehran University had pursued their education in Italy.

¹¹² *An Introduction to Persian Art Since the Seventh century A D.* (London: P. Davies, 1930) with Ackerman, Phyllis; *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present*, 6 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938-58); *Masterpieces of Persian Art* (New York: The Dryden Press 1945); *Persian Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1965); *Persian Architecture: the Triumph of Form and Color* (New York, G. Braziller, 1965); *Introducing Persian Architecture* (Tehran: Soroush Press, 1976)

¹¹³ See the translator's prologue in Arthur Upham Pope, trans. Gholamhossein Sadri Afshar, *Memari Iran*, (Tehran: Dut, 1390)

Bagher Ayatollah Zade Shirazi is one of these conservationists who one year after graduation from Tehran University in 1964 continued his education in the field of *Conservation and Study of Historic Buildings and Sites* in Italy. His research in Rome University under the supervision of De Angelis d'Ossat with the title *Progetto di Rianimazione del Bazar di Isfahan il Centro Antico Commerciale a Culturale della Citta* was a focus on the practical methods of restoration and renovation in Isfahan's Great Bazaar. Later, after the revolution he had the opportunity to implement his dissertation with some revisions and develop it to other sections of the adjacent old fabrics such as Naqsh-i-Jahan Square.



Figure 31: Bagher Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi sat on the ruins of the Bam Arg (Citadel) after the 2003 earthquake



Figure 32: Lutf-o-Allah Honarfar in his 80s

His vernacular knowledge about architecture and historic buildings distinguished him from the state's western preservationists. He was the first preservationist in Iran who could combine the vernacular preservation knowledge with his academic repertoire enriched by local and international education, and established the modern preservation principles on its Iranian terms.¹¹⁴ In his logic the traditional method of construction, conducted by traditional masons called Usta Mimar who had learned the job by trade,¹¹⁵ was integral to the modern theories of construction and restoration led by the new fields of architecture and preservation.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Mehdi Sajjadi Naeini, *Mimaran va Marammatgaran-i Sonnat-i Isfahan*, (Isfahan: Markaz-i Esfahan Shenasi, 1387): 135-137

¹¹⁵ Master Masons in English.

¹¹⁶ For further discussion on this ground see Bagher Ayatollah Zade Shirazi, "Tavali Manteghi Faaliat-ha baraye Eraeye Tarh-i Marammat", *Haft Shahr Journal* 4 No.11 (Tehran, 1382): 29-44

Different from this local-international education in preservation some other conservationists spend all of their academic years in western universities, such as Abdollah Jabal Ameli who studied in Italy's universities. This group after their return to Iran had the opportunity to vernacularize their knowledge through professional practice. The collaboration between local and international advocates of preservation promoted the professional and academic aspects of this discipline in the city, and consequently in the state. These advocates included the mentioned influential Iranian conservationists, architects graduated from Tehran University who were practicing preservation at the time such as Ahmad Montazer,¹¹⁷ academics such as Lutfollah Honarfar,¹¹⁸ and Western professionals and scholars. The one-decade cooperation between Italian Eugenio Galdieri, the IsMEO's representative,¹¹⁹ and Abdollah Jabal Ameli, the NSCHP's representative, for the preservation of Aliqapu Palace and the Great Mosque is a case in point.

Although the theoretical knowledge of preservation was enriched at this time, there was a requirement for a human force resource to contribute to the know-how of preservation. The Vocational School of Fine Arts was the place for providing education on this ground. Founded in 1936 during Pahlavi I by the Ministry of Culture in a rented

¹¹⁷ Ahmad Montazer was born in Isfahan in 1945 and graduated from Tehran University in 1971 with distinction. A number of his contribution to the city's restoration and preservation includes restoration of more than a hundred historic buildings and directing the first urban renewal plan in Iran in the historic district of Jamaleh. Before revolution he was the NSHP's representative and later in 1996 chaired this institution for 3 years.

¹¹⁸ Lutf-o-Allah Honarfar (1919-2006) a Historian, Archeologist, and Isfahanologist was born in Isfahan. He received his master in History and Geography from University of Tehran in 1941. Between 1952 and 1960 he chaired the Isfahan's Department of Archaeology and later in 1962 after receiving his Doctoral Degree from Tehran University in History he began teaching at Isfahan University. Besides many scholarly works on Isfahan such as *Ganjineh Asare Tarikhi Isfahan* or *Isfahan's History*, he published numerous articles specifically in the *Art Journal of Honar va Mardom* about Isfahan's monuments.

¹¹⁹ The Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East based in Rome. (Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente)

house, the school began its work within only two fields of skill including carpentry and metalworking under the supervision of the German engineer Wilhelm Meier. The school later in 1937 moved into a new place built for this purpose on the west-north margin of Zayande-Rood River within the proximity of Sei-o-Se Pol Bridge. The building's design inspired by Persepolis and Aryanism was a result of cooperation between German engineers and Isa Bahadori, the great Isfahanian painter, carpet designer, and one of the school's founders.



Figure 33: The Vocational School of Fine Arts (Honarestan-i Honarhaye Ziba) today (Source: author)

By 1941 the school offered other programs such as Monabbat Kari, Khatam Kari, Zari Baafi, Ghalamzani (engraving), carpet designing, miniature, Tazhib, tile working, masonry, and tile painting. In 1950s the school had gained international reputation by achieving numerous honors in handicraft competitions such as in Tokyo and Brussels 1958-1959. Certainly, the traditional arts taught in the school could have considerable contribution to the repairing process of historic buildings. In addition, many of the school's graduates furthered their education in Italy's institutions, specifically in IsMEO, to learn about preservation. This process was supported by both Italian conservationists and the Ministry of Culture at the time to instruct them with a combination of local and international practical techniques, what was required for stabilizing and repairing the historic buildings. Hussein Najjar Zadegan is a case in point who after graduation in Miniature from the school began working with IsMEO's preservationists in Isfahan led to his study abroad in 1971 in the Rome's Central Institution for Repair and Conservation.¹²⁰

In extension of all these events another turning point completed the modernization process of preservation knowledge through academic achievements. Farabi University established by Shah's wife, Farah Dibaa, in Isfahan in late 1970s was the first academic institution in Iran which focused on preservation as an independent discipline to prepare conservationists in two majors: Conservation and Restoration of Old Objects, and Conservation and Restoration of Old Cities.¹²¹ To base a tradition in revitalizing the functional aspect of defunct historic buildings for a modern life, the university first

¹²⁰ Mehdi Sajjadi Naeini, *Mimaran va Marammatgaran-i Sonnat-i Isfahan*: 300-302

¹²¹ Mansoureh Pirnia, *Safarname Shahbano*, (Paris: Iran Mehr Publications, 1371): 359

After revolution Farabi University, which was affiliated with Tehran University of Art, changed its name to Isfahan University of Art, and in late 1990s became an independent institution.

founded its place in the historic Safavid house of Haghighi, and later after revolution relocated it to the west side of the Naqsh-e Jahan Square as the best location to observe, learn, and affect the preservation activities in the town.¹²² This tradition through the time was followed in other cities such as Yazd and Tabriz when they similarly applied an adaptive reuse approach to reanimate a number of defunct historic buildings through proposing academic functions such as art or architecture universities.

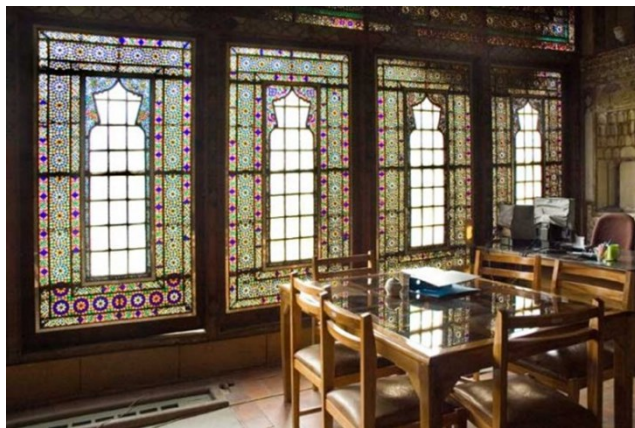


Figure 34: Haghighi Safavid House today, the first location of The Isfahan University of Art



Figure 35: A view from the Haghighi House courtyard

¹²² This tradition saved many historic buildings in Isfahan, specifically historic houses, and extended to after revolution to the point that now more than 15 buildings in different locations of the city function as Isfahan University of Art departments.

Preservation in Isfahan, after Reza Shah during Pahlavi II, did not experience an attitude that much different from Pahlavi I until 1955. At this time, years after the WWII and country's return to the usual condition, from 1955 until 1960 the budget allocated to the renovation of Isfahan's Historical Monuments increased thanks to the Minister of Culture, Mahmood-e Mehran.¹²³ This 5-year span of historic preservation in Isfahan was managed by Lotfullah Honarfar whose life since now on is dedicated to the preservation of Isfahan's physical history manifested in historic buildings. This devotion was to the point that no one could take his place on the scholastic contributions made for the recognition and analysis of Isfahan's historic monuments thus far. A member of the SNH, he published his research in 1965 on Isfahan's monuments in the *book Ganjineh Asare Tarikhi Isfahan*.¹²⁴ This source has remained the most comprehensive work since that time about the Isfahan's historic buildings and gradually turned to a historical reference for all preservation activities in the city.

Another pleasant event for preservation occurred during the SNH meeting in Isfahan to the invitation of Isfahan's governor, Ebrahim Parsa, on April 1964 which expedited the preservation of the city's historic monuments.¹²⁵ A result of this meeting

¹²³ Mahmoud Mehran, son of Mirza Sadiq S Boroujerdi was born in 1280 in Tehran. He finished the Elementary and Secondary schools in Tehran and received his higher degree from Dar-ol-Moalemin Ali. For a while he was employe in Tehran as a teacher until the government supported him for studying abroad led to his movement to Europe to study for educational doctoral degree. After returning to Iran, Tehran for a while was the chairman of the Ministry of Culture, and eventually reached the rank of the Vice President of the Ministry of Culture. While the head of the Iranian students in Europe in 1953 was invited to the Ministry of Culture by General Zahedi though he declined the position and remained in Europe. During the Hussein Alaa's Ministry in 1955, was invited back to the cabinet when he accepted the position as the Ministry of Culture for two years. He remained in this position for six years even after the fall of the Alaa's cabinet, during the Eghbal's and Sharif Emami's ministries. Rasekhon, <http://www.rasekhoon.net/mashahir/show/597108/مهران-محمود>, (accessed August 16, 2013)

¹²⁴ *Ganjineh Asare Tarikhi Isfahan* in translation means The Treasure of the Isfahan's Heritages.

¹²⁵ Lotfullah Honarfar, *Ganjīnah-i āsār-i tārikhī-i Isfahān: Āsār-i bāstānī va alvāḥ va katībāh 'hā-yi tārikhī dar ustān-i Isfahān*. (Isfahan: Kitābfurūshī-i saqafi , 1344): 852

was the passage of an agreement with 20 articles on Isfahan's historic buildings, their preservation, and also reconstruction activities such as the construction of a new mausoleum for Kamal Ismail, as discussed in earlier chapters. This was followed based on this agreement by an invitation from Giuseppe Tucci, the chair and the founder of the *Middle and Far East Institution in Italy* (ISMEO), for a visit to Isfahan.¹²⁶ The intention of this visit was observing the adopted measures for the conservation of Isfahan's historic buildings, specifically those technical measures possible to be executed by that institution in Isfahan. Consequently, in 1965 a group of Italian preservationists began a research and a survey of the city's historic buildings, specifically with respect to the required repair for restoring the Safavid Paintings. This was followed by a set of rehabilitation and conservation activities in Chahar Bagh Madrasa conducted by the Isfahanian traditional architects under the supervision of the Italian.¹²⁷

The strong presence of Italian architects and preservationists in the city's arena with respect to professional practice continued with Eugenio Galdieri's leadership until 1979.¹²⁸ Galdieri's presence in Iran goes back to the late 1960s when he traveled to

¹²⁶ Giuseppe Tucci (1894 –1984) was an Italian scholar of oriental cultures, specialized in history of Buddhism. He taught primarily at the University of Rome and was a visiting scholar at institutions throughout Europe and Asia. In 1931, the University of Naples made him its first Chair of Chinese Language and Literature. In 1933, with the philosopher Giovanni Gentile he founded, ISMEO, the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East based in Rome. (Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente) He is considered one of the founders of the field of Buddhist Studies. His works on archeological excavation throughout Asia are famous such as in Persepolis in Iran, Ghazni in Afghanistan, Swat in Pakistan, and in the Himalayas. He was also the promoter of the National Museum of Oriental Art. In 1978 he received the Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding and in 1979 the Balzan Prize for History. During the course of his life, he wrote over 360 books and articles.

¹²⁷ Chahar Bagh Madrasa is a monument from Safavid era built between 1704 and 1714.

¹²⁸ Eugenio Galdieri was born in 1925 in Naples, but during the young ages moved with his family to Rome, where he later graduated from the Rome University as an architect. He devoted himself almost entirely to the problems of conservation of monuments – in particular in Eastern European countries – and studies in Islamic architecture. In 1980 he received the Aga Khan Prize for his preservation and restoration activities in Isfahan and a year later in 1983 he was appointed academic honor of the Florentine Academy of Arts and Design. In 1987 he became a member of the Societas Europaea Iranologica, Uppsala. He also contributed to conservation activities in Ghazni, Afghanistan, and Sana, Yemen under the institution's supervision. He passed away in his office in Rome in November 2010 while always in his desire for a

Isfahan and began his conservation activities from 1970 as the IsMEO's representative through collaboration with NSHP. His work began in Aliqapu Palace, and later developed to conservation activities in Masjid-e Jami (The Great Mosque), Chehel Soton Palace, and Hasht Behesht Mansion. His salient works included efforts for reconstructing the columns' motifs in Ali-Qapu Palace, research and practical works on proving the origin of the Great Mosque to the earlier times than the assumed Seljuk Era, and his measures in cooperation with Abdollah-i Jabal Ameli for the conservation of the Great Mosque.

The social achievement of SNH's activities in Isfahan was also considerable. Now, almost half a century after the Zoka –al Molk-i Foroghi's speech addressing the public on Isfahan's national heritage and their desperate plight, the importance of Isfahan's historic buildings has come to the attention of not only the highbrows, but also the lowbrows'. This is while both groups were gradually grasping the meaning of the term heritage and its social as well as economic merits. SNH organized many activities to bring the importance of national heritage and its preservation to the larger context of the society. For instance, in 1965 to familiarize the public with the importance of national heritage, to draw on the authorities' help in heritage preservation, and to participate in UNESCO's program under the title *Campagne Internationale Pour La Sauvegarde des Monuments Historiques*, SNH published a treatise written by Mohammad Taghi

return to Iran. He published the result of his works in Isfahan in several books which some of them were translated to Farsi by his Iranian colleague, Abdollah-i Jabal Ameli. These publications primarily include three books:

Esḡahān, 'Alī Qāpū: An Architectural Survey (Rome: IsMEO, 1979).

'Alī Qāpū. (Tīhrān: Sāzmān-i Millī-i Hifāẓat-i Āsār-i Bāstānī-i Īrān, 1362).

Masjid-i Jāmi'-i Isḡahān. trans. Abdollah-I Jabal Ameli, (Vol. 8. Isḡahān: Markaz-i Mīrās-i Farhangī-i Isḡahān, 1370).

"Eugino Galdieri the architect and preservationist of some of the Iranian mansions passed away."
http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/world/2010/11/101107_135_eugenio_galdieri_passed_away.shtml (last access September 5, 2013)

Mostafavi, a member of the SNH. In this treatise considerable notes are directed to address the importance of ancient heritage, the SNH's 1963 Charter on Isfahan's heritage, and the content of the Venice Charter.¹²⁹

In general, this period continuing until the last years before revolution in Iran, represents a heyday of preservation life. It found its stable meaning, established that on academic grounds, vernacularized it while incorporated the modern preservation principles into the traditional norms, and materialized that in practice in the city. The tensions between preservationists and the implementers of urban master plans in the city with a modern mind during Pahlavi II evidence on this ground. As we will discuss in the next chapter such a tension influences the second master plan of the city and since now on defines a place for preservation in its development's rubric.

¹²⁹ *Karnameh Anjomane Asare Melli*, ed. Hossein Bahrol Olomi, (Tehran, 1976): 765.

Chapter 7: Preservation and Urban Development in Pahlavi II

Isfahan's modernization process gained momentum during the early 1950s. The population growth resulted from the improved health standards, the city's wicked urban problems exacerbated since the Pahlavi I era, and the following intense urbanization process in the country which was also a result of the Shah's policy for encouraging the rural-to-urban migration, all necessitated the existence of a cohesive urban plan to address these issues and direct such a rapid modernization process in the city. Furthermore, the progress achieved through different experiences during the course of the city management in Pahlavi I, and Mohammad Reza Shah's policy in reinforcing the bureaucratic rationalization, both paved the ground for a modern answer. The outcome of such a modern response materialized in two consequent urban plans at the end of 1950s and 1960s: Kocks master plan approved in 1959 and the Organic comprehensive plan approved in 1969.

Beginning from the first days to strengthen his ties with US, Mohammad Reza Shah drew on the role and experience of the American advisors in every aspect of the country's development and administration. Whether he was aware or not, for the first time in the state he was giving a legal aspect to the application of the concept creative destruction in urban development. This legalization was pursued through a master plan advocated by those who have applied this concept in their land before. The importance of analyzing such a subject will come more to our attention when we consider that Isfahan was the first city in the country which possessed such a modern master plan.¹³⁰ However, Isfahan in point of fact, was selected—as Kocks Master Plan's Report mentions—as a

¹³⁰ In general, preparation of the master and comprehensive plans in Iran begins from 1965. For instance, Tehran's master plan prepared by Abd-al-Aziz Farman-Farmaeian and Victor David Gruen was not approved by the city council sooner than 1966. Seyyed Mohsen Habibi, *Az Shar ta Shahr* (Tehran: Tehran University, 1384): 207

“Pilot City Project” to develop “practical management and operational techniques to be used in the improvement of government in cities throughout Iran, and to establish a training center for municipal personnel.”¹³¹

To accomplish these goals, the Isfahan Municipality and the Planning Organization signed a contract with F. H. Kocks, K. G. Consulting Engineers in April 1958 to prepare the city’s master plan over the next 25 years. Two professional planners, Friedrich Pfeil and Peter Von Bohr, were employed by the firm and one city planner was assigned by the US Operation mission to Isfahan to provide strategic advice for the Mayor, City Council, and the Planning Organization.¹³² Kocks presented the master plan composed of approximately 40 plans and charts to the City Council on June 3, 1959, and within a short time issued a comprehensive report in limited numbers. Kocks later revised and republished the report in a modified version in 1961.

Despite the written words in this report on the importance of the city’s historic features and the respect it considers for SNH in locating the historic monuments as well as in “preserving them from destruction,”¹³³ its design or planning attitude does not consider any difference between the historic and contemporary fabrics. Thus, through its mostly physical policies the historic urban context would not remain pristine anymore at the presence of a proposed creative destruction. In fact, this time modernization is interacting with preservation by providing enough opportunities through destroying the historic urban context to motivate preservation for showing its contradictions in practice in the arena of the city.

¹³¹ *Isfahan Master Plan*, F. H. Kocks K. G., Fredrich Pfeil, Peter Von Bohr, US Operation Mission to Iran, January 1961: Foreword.

¹³² Throughout the report there is no trace of any information about the American Planner.

¹³³ *Ibid*, Acknowledgement

The Kocks Plan proposes four major themes in its report on the city development including Technical, Social, Economic, and Legal ones. Through the legal recommendations for the first time modern planning concepts such as zoning and subdivision rules were introduced to the law section of the city development in Iran. While the set of legal recommendations was a breakthrough, the social ones are more obsessed with modern attitudes towards city development rather than cultural ones. Contrary to the great legal achievements in planning, the social attitude in its modern terms included only the physical and materialistic dimensions of human life such as health, sanitation, school facilities, and public safety. It shall not be inappropriate if we mention this plan as a loyal follower of Corbusier's Charte d'Athènes in 1943 for fitting the city life in a quadruple set of living, working, recreation, and circulation.¹³⁴ The practical outcome of Kocks proposals including only traffic and land-use maps substantiates this fact.

Beyond all of these modern planning mentalities, the last and least concept that Kocks observes under the social section of its guidelines is the cultural dimension of the city development written only in five lines as follow:

For the promotion of cultural activities, the establishment of public libraries, several monuments, and an auditorium should be considered. The office in charge of the preservation of monuments will have the task of restoring historical buildings. This restoration will make these ancient buildings, particularly at the Maidan Shah, more attractive to local residents and tourists alike.”¹³⁵

Disclaiming the cultural responsibility of historic preservation and delegating it to the “office in charge of the preservation” proves two facts: First, the Kocks plan disclaims any responsibility for the conservation of the historic areas. Second, its familiarity with Iran's organizations and their hierarchy is not comprehensive enough to suggest specifically how the preservation office in connection with others should fulfill

¹³⁴ William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900*. (London: Phaidon, 1987): 173

¹³⁵ *Isfahan Master Plan*, F. H. Kocks K. G.: 69.

the plan's proposal. This lack of cultural interpretation of the historic city and considering its development identical to the contemporary urban areas is visible throughout the report. Most of the damages to the historic city come from this outlook and mainly from the plan's consequent traffic proposal. Based on the report the population density in the historic area (300 inhabitants per hectare in 1956) is higher than any other part of the city which at the time represents the livability and liveliness of urban life in the old city. However, from now on after the implementation of Kocks plan in the historic area the population density will reduce throughout the next four decades. While this report recognizes Isfahan as "a town of cyclists" with 30,000 bicycles, its traffic proposal in practice steps towards weakening this de facto reality and more towards strengthening the private and vehicular transportation system.¹³⁶

Meanwhile, the plan embraces some positive measures to facilitate the pedestrian and public transportation systems, such as providing adequate walkways and bus stops in the city, improving the design quality of pedestrian crossings, or turning Chahr Bagh Street to a pedestrian mall by prohibiting the vehicular access—the only great achievement for preservation through Kocks Plan.¹³⁷ However, as a counterpoint to these positive points, to respond to the so-called inadequacy of the existing street space the plan proposes a vast number of new streets to accommodate more private vehicles in the city.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Ibid, 53

¹³⁷ Although this report suggests the prohibition of vehicular access to Chahr-Bagh and its exclusion for pedestrians, it does not provide any guideline or specific plan for that. Ibid, 108

¹³⁸ The inappropriateness of the plan's traffic proposal is more evident when we notice the existing traffic volume at the time. Based on the traffic volume graph on page 50 of the report, the maximum passage of cars per hour in the historic area of the city barely reaches 1340, while this number for bicycles equals 2174 bicycle per hour, and 163 for heavy vehicles such as bus and trucks. The existing condition logically calls for proposing a bicycle network—specifically with respect to Isfahan's topography as an even plateau—rather than a street network, what Kocks selected for its traffic recommendations.

The Kocks proposal for the insertion of these streets or the expansion of the existing ones accompanies its proposed Haussmannian development on green lands and historic fabrics. Looking at the historic core of the city as its central business district (CBD), the plan encourages high building density, such as four-story apartments, and to respond to the new density's requirements resorts to an intense establishment of street networks and urban services. This intense modern urbanism could not have any other result better than chopping out the historic area through the proposed street network, let alone the debilitation of the feeble urban infrastructure more than before in the area.¹³⁹

The ultimate rage of the plan's modernistic outlook manifests itself in its development proposal for the most sensitive historic part of the city, Naqsh-i Jahan Square. Based on the proposed design, the east and west of the square should be destroyed and replaced by cubical buildings and blocks—traceable in Le Corbusierian designs—inserted into the open spaces resulted from demolishing the historic fabric. In

¹³⁹ The result of this design attitude is five east-west bound and four north-south bound streets to be built as new spaces or widened in case of the existing streets. This network of the streets perceptible through the report and its proposed traffic map comprises the following:

East-West streets:

- The extension of Sheikh Bahai Street on the historic Hasht Behesht Garden and from the proximity of the Masjid-i Shah to the east.
- A street in the extension of the existing Foroughi Street which will pass through the historic Dardasht Neighborhood, under the Great Mosque and through the eastern historic fabric of the city
- A street bisecting the Shih Bid Abad and Koshk neighborhoods which passes across the Hakim Mosque and the adjacency of the Sadr Madrassa.
- Authorizing the vehicular traffic passage through the Naqsh-i Jahan Square
- Masjid Seyyed and Jamal al-Din Abd-al Razzagh Streets which disjointed the historic Bazaar on the North of the Square

North-South streets:

- Authorizing the Hakim Nezami Street which in the extension of the Shahpoor Street to the south will be connected to the Isfahan's traffic belt line.
- A new street on the west of Chahar Bagh Street along a proposed bridge on the river in its extension (The same Pol-Felezi Bridge which was supposed to be built in Pahlavi I)
- A new street in relation to a new bridge over the river in the extension of Ferdowsi and Ostandari (Soore-Esrafil) Streets which in fact its location is the Historic Joie Bridge.
- Connecting the Chahar Baghe Sadr to the mentioned new street and Khajo Bridge

addition, a series of proposed streets in the east and west of the square should pass through the neighborhoods on the east, or be widened in the place of the existing streets on the west of the square. Masjid Hakim or Sur Esrafil streets are cases in point which tore the neighborhoods apart for providing access in this compact urban fabric. This mass destruction, even on paper, was enough to motivate Isfahan's SNH members and preservationists such as Abbas Beheshtian to start adopting their preventative measures, to the point that most of the plan was never accomplished.¹⁴⁰ The plan's landuse proposal for the western side of the square in the form of official area, the new Abd-al Razzagh Street disconnecting the Great Bazaar, and the extension of the Sur Esrafil Street¹⁴¹ represent some of the plan's implemented proposals.

In some cases Kocks's recommended plan for the historic fabrics was modified before implementation. This modification, primarily concerned with the construction of new streets, was a result of disputes between preservation advocates and modernization supporters. Today Ibn-i Sina Street is a representative case resulted from such a dispute. The irregular shape of the street in Isfahan's map is questionable which in fact comes from a sharp change in one of the Eastern-Western Streets proposed by Kocks:

¹⁴⁰ Abbas Beheshtian born in Isfahan (1305-1366) is one of the famous features in the arena of preserving the national heritage, specifically in Isfahan. He began his education in Ghodsieh School in Isfahan, but he did not have any academic education. The difficulty of his family's life during the young age led him to assist his father on farmlands, not letting him pursue academic interests. Beginning from elementary education he became interested in Iran's history and culture, specifically in Isfahan's history and this turned him to one of the vanguards of preservation movements and battles in the city. His activities on this ground is innumerable which we bring a portion of that here: saving the Hasht Behesht Mansion, releasing the historic bridges from vehicular traffic, efforts for the construction of Kamal Ismail Tomb, restoring the Isfahan's Great Bazaar, and numerous researches on the historic categories of buildings, such as Pigeon Houses, Assar Khaneh (Seed Oil mills), Tombs and Cemeteries, and Bazaars Afsorteh, *Abbas Beheshtian Chehre-ye Mandegar dar Arse Asaare Melli* (Isfahan: Afsar, 1390)

¹⁴¹ This extension is named today Hakim Street was not accomplished unless after the revolution as we will come to that in next chapters.

A street in the extension of the existing Foroughi Street which will pass through the historic Dardasht Neighborhood under the Great Mosque and through the eastern historic fabric of the city.

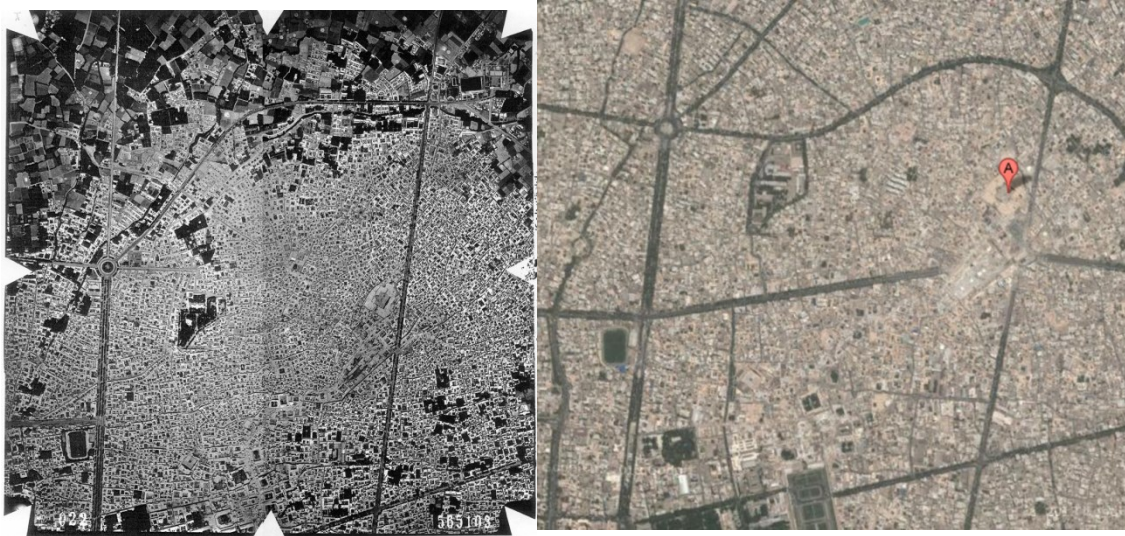


Figure 36: left: the aerial photo taken in 1955 showing a portion of the Isfahan's historic fabric before the construction of Ibn-i Sina Street (Avicenna Street) and right: same area today, where Ibn-i Sina Street can be seen between the traffic square on the left top and a clover junction on the right top; point A shows the location of the Great Mosque. The northern portion of the Naqsh-e Jahan Square is visible on the bottom part of the map

The construction of this street could have brought severe negative consequences to the integrity of the city's historic area and buildings. The passage of this street under the Great Mosque—which has a longtime history dated back to the pre-Islamic era—was equal to damaging one of the most important Islamic architectures. This provocative ignorance triggered many objections from the side of the preservationists with Abaas Beheshtian at the front line. Finally, throughout his and other SNH members' perseverance, such as Lutf-Allah Honarfar, the municipality changed the street's shape from a straight line to a curvilinear one by moving its middle point to the north to avoid the destruction of many historic buildings on its path including the Great Mosque.¹⁴²

¹⁴² A considerable portion of the information provided here came from my interview with Ahmad Montazer who was the manager of the Organic Master Plan at the time of its preparation. He was also a key



Figure 37: An image from Kocks report showing the area in front of the City Hall; a four-story steel structure rising above the Chaharbagh is visible on the top left side (Kocks Report, 1959)

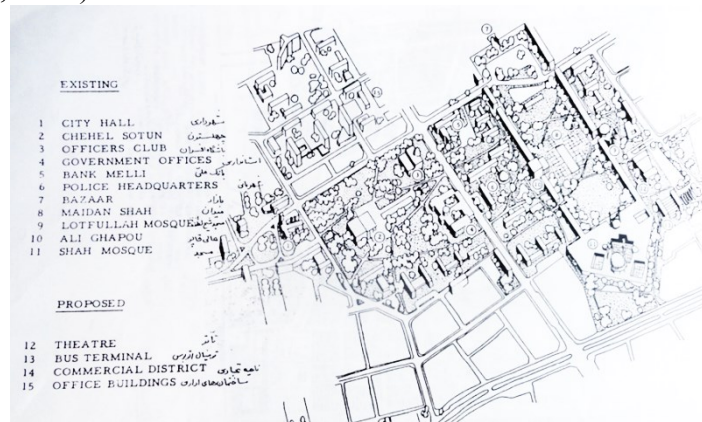


Figure 38: Kocks proposal for the city center around the Naqsh-i Jahan Square

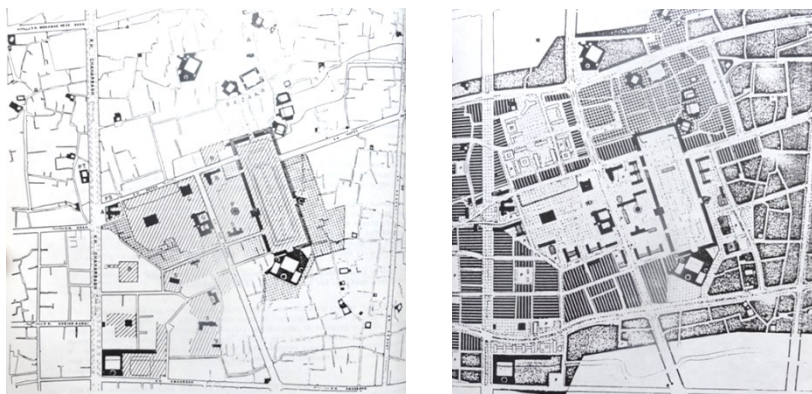


Figure 39: The hatched area in the existing map of the Naqsh-i Jahan Square (left) based on the Kocks Plan should be destroyed and replaced by modern cubic volumes (right) From Kocks Report, 1959

person in preservation activities in Isfahan and in contact with many of the preservationists we talked here before their death.

Unfamiliarity with vernacular features of life and historic fabrics, and the influence of modernism in this period of the city development is clearly visible in the proposed master plan. Despite the destructive effects of the plan, it made a milestone in the historic city's life, and more specifically for the square, since the square's western side found its function as an area for administrative buildings such as offices or banks which has preserved this function thus far. The compatibility between the proposed and the historic function of the western side—as administrative now and governmental and gardening during old times of Safavieh—could mitigate the severity of the modern plan in preservationist's eyes. From now on, preservationists and anti-preservationists see their positions stronger than before against each other and in relation to the destruction concept. The winners of the fight were preservationists since the next master and detail plans at the end of 1960s, and in mid-1970s were reflections of a compromise on design policies and activities addressing the preservation of a historic city along its modernization process. Besides, modernism on the international scale, approaching the end of its life in 1950s and 1960s, did not have its first days' power and attraction anymore. This decline could be another reason for leaving the ground for preservationists.

The ineffectiveness of Kocks plan which came mostly from its upheaval thoughts about the city's historic areas and green fields, specifically Najvan woodland as a major component of the city's cultural and natural landscape had consequent reactions mainly from the preservationists' side. These reactions received a new response, although premature, from the city's new master plan approved in 1969. The ten- year span passed the approval date of Kocks Plan was enough for the city management to see the result of a “pilot project” and gain experiences for preparing a more “comprehensive” plan.

The new plan called Organic, different from the old one benefits from the contribution of more organizations and specialists with a variety of disciplines—at least at the beginning of the plan's preparation process. This could be a result of the city management's growth to understand that urban plans are results of a multi-disciplinary outlook in urbanism which should consider both physical and nonphysical dimensions of urban life. Whether this multilateral outlook was a consequence of the universal shift from modernism to post-modernism in 1960s or this was a prologue showing the consequent imminent attendance of postmodernism in Iran can remain to be answered in another criticism. Here the main point is that both of them are contemporaneous. From now on, although the modernistic determinism is still present in the urbanization process of the city, the pluralism of post-modernization is emerging as a counter force. This pluralism similar to the nature of postmodern thoughts manifests itself more as a critic to the city's modernization activities to hinder its progress. This resistance is advocated mainly by preservationists, historians, and conservative architects.

The Organic report which was prepared in eleven major sections gives credentials to a number of individuals and public institutions. Iran's Ministries and Governmental Organizations including the Tourism Organization on a national scale are enlisted on the report's credential page, and on a city scale besides local offices correspondent with their ministries, the Archeology Office and the Office of Art and Culture can be observed on the list. The considerable change of the planning attitude towards historic preservation stands out when we notice the name of Lutf-Allah Honarfar as the Isfahan University's Professor and Beheshtian as the member of the SNH listed alongside other contributing offices. This suggests preservation now has a higher position in decision making process of urban development. The consultant firm appointed to prepare the plan was *Organic*

including a number of domestic and foreign individuals contributing to the plan in the form of architects, city planners, and geographers.¹⁴³

Throughout the list of these individual names Keighobad Zafar and Eugène Beaudouin are two names standing out due to their considerable contribution through the course of the planning not only for the preparation of Organic Plan but also for their design reputation in general. Zafar was an architect graduated in 1936 from Imperial College London famous for his geometrical architecture. Examples of his architecture could be found in the design of Iran's National Bank in Gorgan.¹⁴⁴ In classification of design style his style is categorized beside that of architects such as Foroughi. Eugene Beaudouin (1898-1983) is a key French architect and planner featured in developing the modernistic attitude between the two world wars in Europe. His efforts with respect to planning discipline paralleled his architecture career specifically in prefabricated housing.¹⁴⁵ His research studies on Isfahan during his stay in Italy during 1929-1932

¹⁴³ Here the term "Organic" is the name of the appointed firm for preparing the new master plan. The members included Keyghobad Zafar, Nemat-allah Samiei, Iraj Ghiasi, Mohammad Mahdavi, and Christian Shock as the domestic members of Organic Cosultant Firm in Tehran, and Eugène Beaudouin, Paul Laufman, Allen Darmon, and Pier Vies as the foreign colleagues of Organic Consultant Firm.

¹⁴⁴ Zafar was born in Bakhtiari district of Iran in 1910. He completed the elementary and highs school studies respectively in Isfahan School of Farhang and American College of Tehran. In 1921 he traveled to England to begin his architectural and art studies. "Arshitect Keyghobad Zafar", Arshitect No. 2, (1946): 68-75

¹⁴⁵ Son of Leon, architect, and Marie Durand, he married Josephine (Josette) Cals in 1928, painter, known as Josephine Beaudouin (1909-2005). After studying at École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts dans l'atelier d'Emmanuel Pontremoli (the National School of Fine Arts and the studio of Emmanuel Pontremoli), he won the Premier Grand Prix de Rome in 1928. He stayed at the Villa Medici in 1929 till 1932. During this period he stayed in Italy and conducts researches on monasteries Mount Athos and the city of Isfahan. He succeeds his father and joins Marcel Lods in 1930. They were interested in the problems of collective housing, building industrialization and prefabrication, in collaboration with engineers Vladimir Bodiansky and Jean Prouvé. Within this association, until 1940, he directed a series of buildings considered forerunners of modern architecture in France such as the city of La Muette in Drancy, garden cities of the OPHLM the Seine, The Outdoor School in Suresnes, and the House of the People in Clichy. He leads a parallel planning career. He worked on the development plan of Havana (1928) and the development of the Paris region (1934). He continued this activity after the war as part of the

could be a fair reason for his cooperation in preparing the *Organic plan* to bring into practice what he had done before in theory.¹⁴⁶ Some of his drawings in order to document the reconstruction of Isfahan's historic areas substantiate the fact that while a modernist avant-garde he was fascinated with historic buildings and their preservation.

The first impression after studying the *Organic plan* would be a plan based on a conservative approach. Different from Kocks plan's modern and destroying character, Organic plan's concept with an attitude in between preservation and modernization was defined through a combination of modernists' and preservationists' ideas on city development. The Organic report assigning a section to the historic aspects of the city lists the names and brief descriptions of the city's registered historic buildings at the time, and suggests that in the first place the reasons for the emergence and development of the city throughout the history should be investigated and analyzed for future development. It continues that a fast uncontrolled urban development will devastate the city's historic context. This cultural view could be a milestone for urban development in the state as the

reconstruction plans of Marseille (1941-1943), Monaco , Saigon , Toulon , Montpellier , and Clermont-Ferrand .

After the Second World War , as chief architect of the National Palace and government buildings, internationally recognized, it is expected to achieve many public architectural projects: embassies, housing, schools, administrative buildings. He won in 1951 the support of the government in the city of Rotterdam in Strasbourg to develop methods of industrialized construction. He was also the planner in priority development program in Minguettes and Montparnasse in Paris.

Beaudouin became director of École d'architecture à l'Université de Genève and l'École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts from 1946 to 1968 , where he was educating students such as Fernand Pouillon , François Spoerry , Christian de Portzamparc , and Antoine Grumbach. Member of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1961 , he was president of the French Society of Planners (1958-1966) and was elected president of the International Union of Architects in 1960 till 1964 .” Trans. French to English http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eugene_Beaudouin , also see <http://eng.archinform.net/arch/516.htm> (last access September 2013)

¹⁴⁶ He reconstructed portions of the Isfahan's historic areas in his drawings such as the Safavid Farah Abaad Garden. It seems that SNH has published his research on Isfahan at the time, though there is no trace of that despite the author's search.

planning/design process had established its development concept for the first time not only on the principles of modernization, but also on the fundamentals of preservation.

The Organic Plan while defining its main goal as “the preservation of the existing city’s character and integrating it with that of the new one,” even concludes that the building codes should be deduced from the analysis on historic buildings. The direct result of such an attitude is that Organic rejects the feasibility of “developing the historic core of the city in the form of the city’s CBD,” since “the old city’s main structure is feeble to further development.” Instead, it suggests three five-year areas for gradual development where new urban centers are defined outside the central historic district towards the north of the city. The plan similar to Kocks Plan suggests the pedestrian use of Chahar-Bagh, and to unload the high traffic volume in the historic core proposes two vehicular ring streets respectively around Chahar-Bagh district and the historic area of the city to prevent further requirements for inner-fabric streets.

Despite the Organic’s sanguine vision for the city, the destructive influence of Kocks and its street-based development concept was stronger than leaving the ground to preservation alone. Furthermore, contrary to the optimistic beginning for the inclusion of a variety of disciplines in preparation process of the plan, through the time it lost the optimistic spirit turning at the end to more a traffic plan rather than a master. There would be many reasons to account for this unwanted change: the change that led to the end of cooperation between Organic and experts such as Honarfar and Beaudouin. Comparing the existing residential density of the city’s historic areas in Kocks and Organic plans we perceive the decline of the historic districts’ liveliness since the density

has dropped sharply in ten years from 300 to 100-150 people per hectare. This is while the city's total population was growing during this time span.¹⁴⁷

This lost population in the historic areas, in fact, represents those who had shifted from their old lifestyle to a modern one achievable in the suburban margins instead of the historic cores. This mental shift could not be possible unless because of the physical shift in transportation provided through the construction of a widespread street network in the town. In addition, the experience of the increased land value resulted from the intense street construction—accelerated by Kocks Plan—could be motivating enough to give priority to the traffic and economic dimensions of the plan over concepts such as preservation and identity.

The impact of this traffic-oriented development on historic districts is more considerable when we contemplate the number of proposed streets in the historic fabrics. Among these streets the authorization of the vehicular passage through the Naqsh-i Jahan Square seems more provocative than others.¹⁴⁸ The root cause for this proposal is accepting the medium and high density constructions such as four-story buildings in the historic districts. It is obvious that higher density required upgraded infrastructure with transportation and street network on the top of the requirement list. This along with the “plug-in” effect of renovation in such areas will not have any result better than the gradual replacement of the historic fabric with the new one.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ *Isfahan Organic Master Plan*, “Section Egtesadi,” Organic Consultant, Ministry of Interior 1969:23

¹⁴⁸ Below is the list of the four major cases:

- Hasht Behest and Bagh-e-Goldaste Streets
- Several streets in Historic Jolfa
- Accepting the inclusion of Masjid Seyyed, Jamal-al-Din Abdol-Razzagh, and Vali-e Asr Streets in the plan
- Accepting and widening the Neshat and Hatef Streets

¹⁴⁹ A reference to the four typologies of urban development introduced by Jon Lang as piece-by-piece urban design, all-of-a-piece urban design, total urban design, and plug-in urban design.

Although Kocks and Organic plans could not accomplish their design proposals, their effect specifically with respect to their capitalistic policies and destructive design approach, remained as a design strategy in city development. More importantly these two urban plans paved the ground for legal activities in the historic areas where the concept of destruction was misused as a tool for achieving the most benefit out of the least monetary expense, but at the very cost of the destruction of cultural identity. This fact is more tangible in case of the Kocks Plan where as we see in next chapters, four decades later after Revolution, its proposal will turn into an excuse for tearing down one of the valuable Safavid Hammams in Isfahan.

SECTION 4: *AFTER REVOLUTION*

Chapter 8: The Change of Values in Preservation and Modernization

The discourse of Preservation after the Islamic Revolution in 1979 should be studied with respect to two major subjects: a revolutionary shift in political trends and those factors behind such a change. All of these changes are understandable when we interpret them around the concept of religion and its presence in every aspect of the state's mind and practice. While before Revolution Iran's regional politics in the Middle East was definable through "Alliance" with Israel and US,¹⁵⁰ after Revolution, in a radical political change against Israel and US, it was definable through "Vahdat"¹⁵¹ with Muslim countries. In other words the secular concept of alliance changed to a religious mentality seeking the Islamic principle of unity in the Middle East. This radical shift was perceptible also in preservation and architecture.

The Pahlavi's preoccupation with the days of Sassanid and Achaemenid empires, which glorified the concepts of Persian heritage and tourism,¹⁵² now, would be replaced with a Shi'ite outlook respecting the concepts of Islamic heritage and pilgrimage. Secular Tomb Architecture, which during the decade before Revolution was experiencing a decline, could not appeal anymore to the discourse of preservation since the concept of pilgrimage was directing efforts towards the conservation and preservation of religious shrines such as the Shrine of Imam Reza in Meshed.

¹⁵⁰ "Iranian-Israeli diplomatic relations, from the 1950s until the fall of the Shah in 1979, were part of the Israeli government's "periphery doctrine" within the direction of US global policies. An effort to establish relationships with non-Arab states in the Middle East and to extend its commercial enterprises. For Israeli construction companies it opened up a new market. For architects it offered a prospect for transnational professional exchange: an opportunity to rectify modernism and make it more considerate of environmental conditions and socio-cultural needs." See Neta Fenigera and Rachel Kallusa, "Building a new Middle East: Israeli architects in Iran in the 1970s," *The Journal of Architecture* 18, Issue 3, (2013): 381-401

¹⁵¹ Vahdat, an Arabic word, in English means unity.

¹⁵² Ali Modarres, *Modernizing Yazd: Selective historical memory and the fate of vernacular architecture*. (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Publishers, 2006): 109

This was also perceptible in case of the construction of new Tombs. The construction of Ayatollah Khomeini's shrine, the Revolution's leader, after his death in 1989, was based on incorporating elements of Islamic architecture to the building in their original forms such as replicas of minarets and domes. This use of architectural elements mimicking the historic shrines of Shi'ism was a result of the state's interest in the concept of pilgrimage. This ritual though advocated by Iran's new governors, had also a strong background rooted in Iran's society.

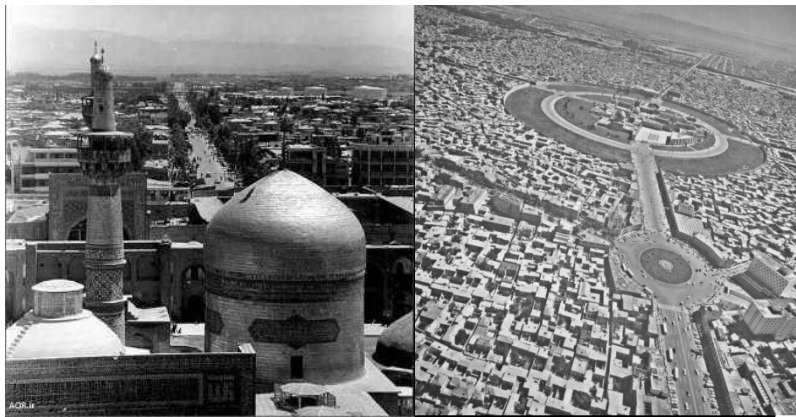


Figure 40: Shrine of Imam Reza, Meshed, in the 1970s

During the official foundation of Shi'ism in Safavid era, the concept of “Ziarat”—the translation of the word pilgrimage—with respect to the tombs of the religion's holy characters, Imams, found a strong place in the society's norms.¹⁵³ Since that time it remained as a strong tradition of Shi'ism and inseparable from that. Even despite all the Pahlavi's efforts to secularize the state, and here with respect to replacing pilgrimage

¹⁵³ Initiated in 1590-1591 at the millennial threshold of the Islamic calendar (1000 A.H.) a transformation of Isfahan from a provincial, medieval, and largely Sunni city into a capital city, representing the first Imami Shi'i Empire in the history of Islam, has been studied by Susan Babaei. It should be mentioned that Shi'ism and the concept of pilgrimage in Shi'ism were in existence while before Safavieh, but it was not until Safavieh that Shi'ism could find a strong and official position in the country. See Susan Babaei, *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the architecture of conviviality in early modern Iran*. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

with tourism, Iranians kept their strong bond with the concept of Ziarat as an important rite of Shi'ism. This was to the point that Mohammad Reza Shah in some occasions had to attend the Shrine of Imam Reza to show himself on the side of the grass roots and not isolated from the society's cultural trends. After revolution this informal culture of Ziarat found an official importance, specifically after the foundation of the Deputy of Tourism and Pilgrimage Affairs in National Heritage Organization in 1980.¹⁵⁴

The trend and factors behind the change after Revolution on what preservation should preserve or what architecture should build, in reality, were initiated and developed before Revolution during the Pahlavi era. A key feature behind this change was Mohammad Karim Pirnia (1920-1997). Though first his interest was in academic studies of Persian literature, later he changed his track to the study of architecture by gaining admission to Tehran University in 1939. His understanding of Persian architecture was in deep contrast with that of Andre Godard, the Dean of the university at the time. The contrast mainly came from Pirnia's Islamic understanding of Persian architecture and Godard's secular understanding of that subject. This contrast led him to drop the school in 1945 to show his objection against what he called "the westernization of architectural culture."¹⁵⁵

Favoring the traditional methods of construction and preservation, he spent most of his time with traditional masons and craftsmen to learn about their experiences on historic buildings. Since the advent of Architecture in capital A, during Pahlavi era, architects had been ignoring the traditional methods of construction used by craftsmen

¹⁵⁴ Moaavenat-e Omoore Siahati va Ziarati Vezarat-e Ershad Eslami

¹⁵⁵ This conflict was to the point that Andre Godard's efforts to return him to school did not yield any success. See Mehdi Sajjadi Naeini, *Mimaran va Marammatgaran-i Sonnat-i Isfahan*, (Isfahan: Markaz-i Esfahan Shenasi, 1387): 116-122

and masons; however in practice these master masons were the actual constructors or preservers of the great buildings. Pirnia was seeking the revitalization of their names and importance in Islamic architecture while studying Persian architecture from their view. Introducing different styles of Persian architecture in five categories, numerous articles on unknown features of Islamic architecture and discovering new invaluable historic buildings throughout the country represent a portion of his achievements based on the new approach on studying the discourse of Persian architecture.¹⁵⁶

Dignifying the role of religion in activities on Islamic architecture and preservation was also connected to the preservationists' backgrounds. Further investigation on the preservationists' backgrounds, either those with contribution to the theory of preservation or those with contribution to its knowhow suggests many of them had ties with the concept of religion. For instance Bagher Ayatollah Zadeh Shirazi who brought up in a religious family, was one of the descendants of Mirzaye Shirazi, a great Islamic figure. The story is almost the same with respect to the masons and craftsmen appointed to work on preservation projects. Master masons such as Senmars or Mohseni Naeini all grew up in the religious atmosphere of their families.¹⁵⁷ While many of these people were the same persons working in preservation fields in the secular atmosphere of Pahlavi era, after Revolution they could publicize their religious interests, incorporating it as a principle to their activities.

¹⁵⁶ Some of Pirnia's contribution to the discourse of Persian architecture are as follow: Rejecting Godard's hypothesis on the function of Firoz Abaad mansion as a palace by introducing its function as a Fire Temple; rectifying Pope's wrong analysis of the double skin dome of the Shah Mosque by considering it as an empty space instead of a space with wooden trusses; introducing six styles of Persian architecture including Paarsi and Paarti for pre-Islamic and Khorasani, Razi, Azari, and Isfahani for Islamic era; the discovery of Fahraj Mosque dated back to the first half of the Islamic calendar (the 11th century) as one of the mosques remained unchanged since its construction time. Many of his theories and ideas on Islamic architecture were published by his students such as Zohreh Bozorgnia and Gholamhossein Memarian, specifically after his death such as in the book *Islamic Architecture*, or *Sabshenasi Memari Islami Irani*.

¹⁵⁷ See Mehdi Sajjadi Naeini, *Mimaran va Marammatgaran-i Sonnati Isfahan*

In the area of preservation practice, those years before and after the Islamic Revolution cannot leave that much to talk since similar to other revolutions, they are chaotic times when political issues become the priority and push others, such as preservation or the city development, to the back.¹⁵⁸ Some of the historic buildings similar to French revolution were defaced as they were the representative symbols of the overturn Pahlavi government and those principles that the revolution has risen against. These were mostly Shah's palaces and historic sites such as Persepolis which all had association with the secular understanding of Persianism. They were all reminiscent of the days of Sassanid and Achaemenid empires and the concept of monarchy, the foundational mentality of Pahlavi dynasty. However, most of the historic buildings in Isfahan remained intact as they were part of the people's daily life, religious buildings, and in general far from any theme against the revolutionary values.

Reviewing the course of preservation activities in Isfahan after Revolution, within the past three decades, a sort of decline is perceptible beginning from the 1980s until the second half of the decade when preservation again starts to achieve its before-Revolution place. The 1990s could be the climax of preservation success when Isfahan Renovation and Restoration Organization was established in 1995 under the Municipality's supervision—though later independent of that—to be responsible for the preservation of the city's old areas. Many of the historic buildings such as Hammams, caravansaries, or schools were restored or rehabilitated through the Organization's supervision in this decade which has still remained as the active preservation arm in the city's administrative system. Years beginning from the late 1990s are representative of a decline in preservation, specifically because of the introduction of a new building code in the city

¹⁵⁸ From another perspective, as I explain in the following lines this could be a span of time for reconstruction and appropriation of the cultural landscape's identity based on the revolutionary values.

advocating the destruction concept of modernity. Despite this decline some successful projects such as the restoration of Atigh Square or rehabilitation of the Historic French School were accomplished; however, these were individual successful cases and the general trend suggested that preservation is making considerable compromises with modernization in the city's arena.

The new “density code” approved in late 1990s legalized the construction of high-rise buildings in the city.¹⁵⁹ The dormant concept of destruction, now again, had found the opportunity to rise from the ground and change the city's profile. Within less than five years the city's skyline turned from two-story to five and more in historic areas. The code revolutionized the historic fabric not only directly but also, indirectly, by influencing the Isfahanians' minds. In other words, this was an incentive policy for lay people to make the deterioration process faster —hidden from the eyes of the preservation office—in their old houses to turn them sooner to high-rise apartments for sale. Before the advent of the new code, based on a new master plan approved after revolution, Isfahan's skyline was following that of a traditional Islamic city: where religious buildings dominate a silhouette of residential buildings with maximum three-story height.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ At the end of 1990s the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development adopted a new policy as a so-called plug-in policy, first, to motivate contractors and builders to contribute more seriously in urban development, and, second, to provide an independent considerable source of budget for municipality. The policy let the builders to construct more than the height determined by legal urban plans in a certain zone of the city, while the builder had to pay for the amount of FAR (flat area ratio) exceeding its usual which was usually 1.2. This could bring both sides huge profits: the builder could take most of the land by accommodating more housing units in a certain area, while the municipality could provide its own budget through fines and regular payments required for gaining more density.

¹⁶⁰ The last approved master plan before revolution, undergone a review to reflect the revolutionary values in a Islamic country, and in 1988 the Review Master Plan was prepared by Naghshe Jahan Pars Consultant as the legal document to direct the city development. The plan developed within the next eight years when it became finalized in the Review Detail Plan. Following the last plan before revolution, proposals are almost the same except for three major differences: Prioritizing walkability in historic areas, prohibiting vehicular traffic in major historic spaces such as in the Naghshe Jahan square; the inclusion of Islamic

The new code since its approval, associating with the concept of destruction and its catalyzing role in returning the investment in constructions, initiated a new round of controversies and disputes between preservationists and anti-preservationists in the city. Those cases explaining the success and failure achieved by both sides are numerous and the span of the subject with respect to the fast process of urban development in developing countries is very vast. Cases suggesting preservationists' success include the restoration of Atigh Square, revitalization of a number of old neighborhoods, reanimation of the city's touristic axes, and the individual repair activities and renovations of historic monuments, to name but a few. However, here I briefly introduce only three cases, two of which still have remained as the most provocative ones in the city's development process: Khosro Agha Hamam, and Jahan Nama Center, both near the Naghshe Jahan square. I will extend this case study to discuss the restoration of Atigh Square as a successful achievement in preservation.

"Hamame Khosro Agha recorded in Iran's National Register Nomination list in 1975 turned into ruins in April 1995, 2:00 am within less than 5 hours."¹⁶¹ This is the title of the newspapers at the time, when a valuable Safavid building was torn down. Since long time ago the historic bath was an obstacle in the way of a proposed street by Kocks Plan. Although other plans after Kocks did not propose this street,¹⁶² as we discussed

cities' urban patterns, specifically morphologically, in the mass, envelope, and silhouette of the city by highlighting old, religious and public mansions in its skyline while other buildings—usually residential buildings—should not exceed a determined lower skyline; and finally the insertion of vehicular access in compact historic fabrics following the boundaries of neighborhoods without bifurcating them. Although all of these were supporting the preservation side of our talk, the problem was that they mostly remained just on paper. While at this time, the inefficiency of Master and Comprehensive Plans had become evident and they had been replaced by Structure Plans in the world, still they were the main source of urban decisions in Iran. This later rendered preservationists as losers in the city where the real life took place through a real time decision making process; however preservationists were winners on paper, just on urban blue prints.

¹⁶¹ Hamshahri Newspaper, Isfahan, 13 April 1995

¹⁶² Today this street is called Hakim Street.

earlier the destruction concept incorporated by Kocks to the city's urban design culture was stronger to become obsolete even after revolution. The idea of constructing a commercial area around the street with respect to the low price of the land in this location could bring considerable profits for the investors.¹⁶³



Figure 41: Hamam Khosro Agha: left a drawing from Hammam by the French orientalist, Eugene Flandin, who traveled to Persia during 1839-41. Right: an image showing the ruins of Hammam after demolition. (From Bagher Shirazi, "Takhribe Hammam Tarikhi Khosro Agha," *Asar Journal* 25 (1374): 2-27)

Although the loss of such a historic Hammam was considerable, the achievement accompanying this loss was valuable for preservationists. They showed severe reaction to this case through writing, lecturing, and even suing the case in court several times. Although preservationists were unable to distinguish those behind this act of vandalism, the impact of their reaction was wide enough to prevent similar future law violations. Even today, every now and then the idea of reconstructing the Hammam is heard, but it needs time to see if preservation is strong enough to bring it to reality.

The second case focuses on Jahan Nama Complex, a fifty-meter high mixed-use mega-structure located within seven hundred meters from the Naghshe Jahan Square.

¹⁶³ Identifying the advocates of the street construction is beyond our scope and here we only recognize them as anti-preservationists.

Isfahan Municipality in 1997 by destroying the Tahdid Caravansary initiated the project, which its incompatible huge scale and height from the beginning was the issue unresolved between preservationists and Isfahan Municipality. The construction process continued while preservationists were writing and lecturing to reproach the project and slow its development, or even stop it. When the construction came almost to its final phases, its negative effect on the square became more evident. For the viewer inside the Naqsh-e Jahan Square the tower of Jahan Nama stood higher than all the four historic monuments in the square. This was a violation of the area's height limit, disregarding the existing cohesive historic skyline.¹⁶⁴ Throughout the history similar disputes are traceable such as in case of Eiffel Tower or Louvre Museum in Paris where finally conservative opponents accepted the radical modernists' recommendations in the historic areas. In case of Jahan Nama, however, the building lacks such a cohesive modern architectural value. Preservationists, disappointed from any compromise by Municipality turned to UNESCO to inspect the issue because the square was a worldwide registered site. This and other frequent critics from preservationists finally led to altering the height of the building through demolishing a portion of its crown section (2006-present).



Figure 42: Jahan Nama before (left) and after (right) altering its skyline

¹⁶⁴ These four monuments from Safavid era include Sheikh Lutf Allah Mosque, Masjid-e Jame Abbasi, Ali Qapue Palace, and Gheysarieh Entrance Gate.

Despite the cases of Jahan Nama Center and Khosro Agha Hamam, sceneries representative of successful preservation activities on a national scale appeared in the city's arena when both preservationists' and modernists' thoughts became convergent. A case in point is Atiq Square (Imam Ali Square), a historic reconstruction of an old square which has experienced several Islamic eras beginning from early Islam with a heyday during Seljuk period. Beginning from Qajar era the square's open space was filled with inappropriate housing constructions and later in Pahlavi I, during street-oriented movement, the first street crossing the square undermined the last hopes for its restoration.

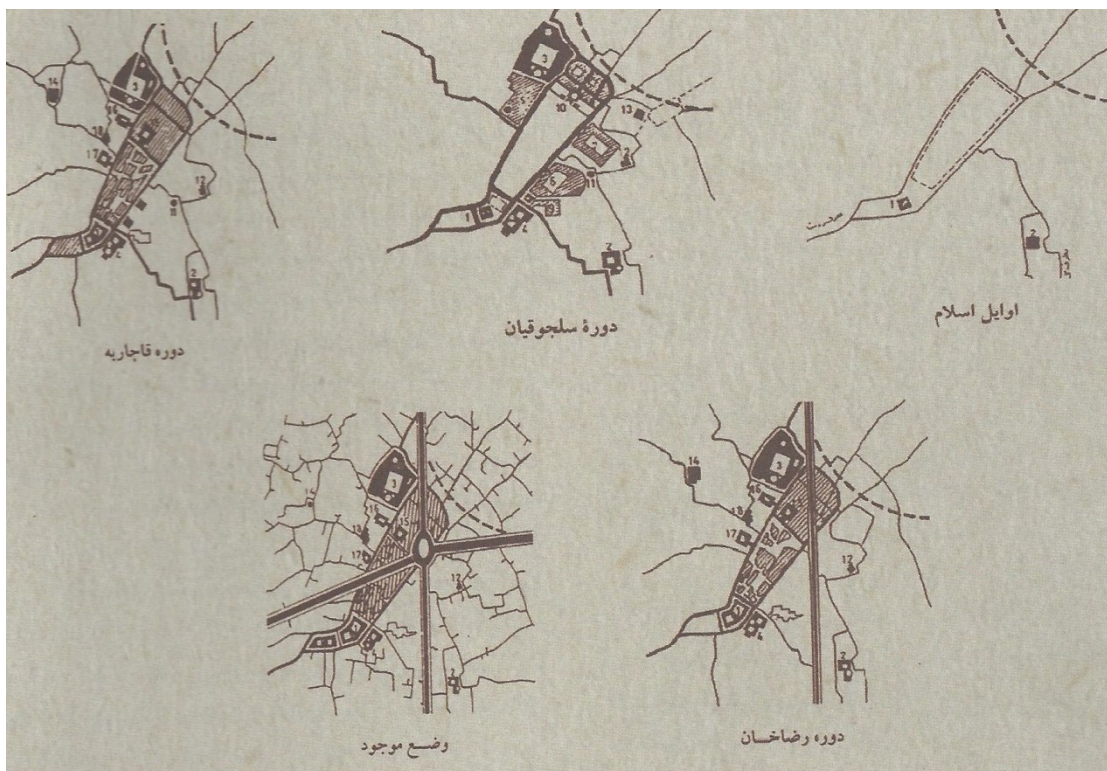


Figure 43: Atiq Square and its changes from Early Islam until 1990 (from top right to left: Early Islam, Seljuk, Qajar, Pahlavi I, 1990)

Around 1990, first time both preservationists and modernists express their interests in reconstructing the square. The latter, mainly including members of the city management, was in search of a solution in this decayed congested area that not only can reduce the traffic problems but also increase its livability and economic prosperity through commercial and mixed-use functions. On the other hand, the former group was pursuing the revival of the city's forgotten Seljuk identity. This was achievable through rebuilding part of the city's old main structure, Atiq Meydan, which in Safavid era became connected to Naqsh-e-Jahan Square through the Great Bazaar. This historic reconstruction project was also an opportunity to remove the irrelevant additions from the existing historic buildings and to gather them all cohesively around the Meydan's open space.

Although this project took over 20 years to be physically accomplished—which to some extent is acceptable because of its huge scale and legal land issues—it could depict a milestone in preservation activities after Revolution. Siding apart the controversies over the form of the square, this case is unique for a unanimous agreement from all sides about the necessity of its reconstruction.¹⁶⁵ Inaugurated during the last year the project connected different dispersed historic buildings around one open space and signified the integrity of the square's history. Based on Naghsh-e-Jahan Pars Consultant's proposal, the traffic volume was directed underneath the square in tunnels, while above, the square have gradually accommodated the commercial and cultural functions within surrounding walls.

¹⁶⁵ The controversies mainly stemmed from a discussion on the form of the square. Preservationists insisted on reconstructing the square on the basis of its original trapezoidal "organic form" in Seljuk era. In contrast, modernists argued that the form should look more contemporary and free from historic beliefs because of two reasons: first the historic documents proving the square's original form are inadequate, and second, a contemporary form such as a rectangle will have a better functionality to accommodate required contemporary needs. See "Mizgerde Takhassosi Ba Mozoe Barrasie Abade Shekli Meydan e Imam Ali (A)" *Nama No. 194-195*, 1390: 4-27

A great lesson learned from this case is how sharing a focal issue can converge apparently diverge ideas in the city development with respect to preservation activities. Reconstructing Atiq Square had benefits for both sides: it corresponds with both capitalist tendencies for a great return on investment responsive to the municipality's modern thoughts and historicist tendencies for the preservation of the city's memory through reconstruction. Such a theme indicates another possible conduit for reinforcing the interaction between preservation and modernization: this time not only for the preservation of individual historic buildings on an architectural scale, but also different from Pahlavi for the preservation of memory on an urban scale.



Figure 44: Design proposal by Naghsh-e-Jahan Pars Consultant for Atiq Square

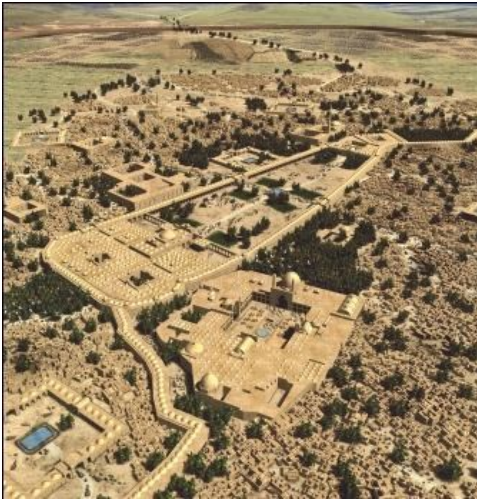


Figure 45: Left, showing a graphic reconstruction of Atiq Square during the Seljuk Era and right showing a model proposed by Naghsh-e-Jahan Pars Consultant Firm for its reconstruction

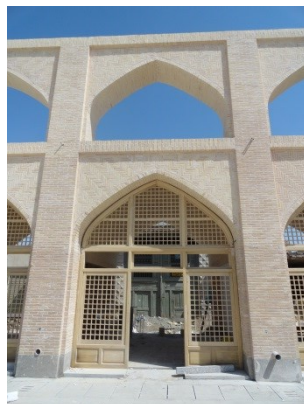


Figure 46: Images of Atiq Square during its construction in 2013 (Source: Author)

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Although I began this thesis with an attitude towards the dichotomy of preservation/modernization during the last century, as we approach forward in the third millennium the logic of such a dichotomy loses its authority. In other words when it comes to the history of cultural landscape we cannot observe and analyze the events as in only black and white by applying a master narrative which draws a sharp distinctive line between interaction and contradiction of preservation and modernization. We may be in need of a kaleidoscopic view to have a fair understanding of this context.

Despite our earlier chronological division of preservation's success and failure after revolution during the last three decades, in recent years we should more talk about a heterogenous context impossible to be chronologically divided. In this context modernization and preservation each has found their stable meanings through their mutual relationship within a fast process of urban development. As we mentioned in the introduction this is how the critical dynamic of urban life through a dispute between preservationists and anti-preservationists will affect the notion of place. This is an urban development process whose central force is not simple expansion and growth but rather a chaotic process defined through a heterogeneous context. This is a context where modernization with its destruction and rebuilding forces and preservation with its permanence-seeking mind each define the other one. Concerning the disputes between these two trends, the final product will be unpredictable, while as a whole they define the features of cultural landscape.

However, one anomaly in this context worthy to be mentioned, is that in Iran's history of built environment, different from West, preservation—correspondent with traditionalism—came into existence before modernization. As we saw in Pahlavi I, a

nostalgic attitude towards the preservation of the past glorious local history established the point of departure for a set of preservation and modernization activities. With no doubt the formation of the Society of National Heritage in 1922 marked the first milestone on this ground, where a few of patriotic diplomats and intellectuals, to the order of Reza Khan, gathered to form a cultural group to preserve, protect, and promote Iran's patrimony. The focus of the society on restoration projects and more importantly on tomb architecture defined preservation as the *prioris* in these elites' agenda of priorities for nation-state: preservation became the point of departure for the making of the future. For that we observed how it directed the reform activities in the course of nation state on the basis of Persianism, or more particularly Aryanism. The attendance of Orientalist in Pahlavi I in Iran, who some became the subject of tomb architecture—such as in case of Arthur Upham Pope—accelerated the process of nation state through their contribution to enrich the knowledge of Persian history, what even turned to be the source of inspiration for the invention of Persian modern heritage. Such an attitude towards history continued during Mohammad Reza Shah's era with a minor shift in SNH view towards history: architectural history from Islamic era, besides that of Achaemenid and Sassanid, defined the source of inspiration in design. Tombs of Saeb and Pope are representative examples on this ground.

Despite such an affinity between preservation and modernization in individual architectural projects, the latter eclipsed the former in the arena of city development. Similar to the consequences of modernity in the West, Isfahan became subjugated to deterministic urban plans to accommodate the notion of an industrialized city. This industrialization began by street development movement, under Baladieh's supervision, in Pahlavi I. The introduction of American urban plans, such as Kocks, to the city in Pahlavi II reinforced the industrialization process. Such imported modern plans came to

be costly for preservation by their radical bulldozerian approach replacing the old with the new; however, as we observed this triggered a set of campaigns organized by preservationists to save the historic buildings and strengthened their will to resist modernization. From here, gradually the theory and practice of preservation found their meanings when after the Vocational School of Fine Arts, in late Pahlavi II, the first academic preservation institution in Iran was established in Isfahan. The attendance of vanguard preservationists from Italy and Iranian protagonists and preservationists who were graduated abroad provided a synthesis of advanced technological methods and vernacular knowledge and techniques to define the theory and practice of preservation in Isfahan, and from there in Iran.

If we believe that necessity and invention are consequent concepts then we can argue as much as intensive was the modern attitude in Pahlavi's urban plans, the stronger and more concrete was established preservation theory and practice at that point. Gwendolyn Wright's essay on "Global Ambitions and Local Knowledge," implicitly emphasizes this notion. She points to the permanent tension between modernity and tradition in Middle Eastern societies. Such a tension usually suffers from the Western imported modernity which is over-concentrated on conviction about the future instead of engaging the real dilemma of the present and the past.¹⁶⁶

Reviewing the course of preservation activities in Isfahan after Revolution, within the past three decades, a sort of decline is perceptible beginning from the 1980s until the second half of the decade when preservation again began to achieve its before-Revolution's prestige. The 1990s could be the climax of preservation success when Isfahan Renovation and Restoration Organization (RRO) was established to direct

¹⁶⁶ Gwendolyn Wright, "Global Ambition and Local Knowledge" in *Modernism and the Middle East: Architecture and politics in the twentieth century*, ed. Sandy Isenstadt and Kishwar Rizvi. (University of Washington Press, 2011): 221-255

preservation activities through three major approaches: restoration, rehabilitation, and renovation. Despite a number of successful achievements by RRO in preserving the city's historic sites and buildings, as we observed modernization was not idle. In many cases such as Jahan-Nama, modernity utilizing the concept of creative destruction—introduced first time by Kocks Plan in Isfahan—ambitiously resisted/affected preservation activities.

In the course of these events, the impact of modernization on Isfahan's physical landscape, compared with other Iranian cities such as Tus in Meshed, Tehran, and Hamedan, was not that much tangible. As I maintained in the chapter "Preservation Theory and Practice," multifarious historic monuments, a long history culminated during Safavid Era, and the consequent dominant urban structure achieved through creative as well as cohesive architecture in a long time history, make ignoring the past and its preservation impossible. In other words, in Isfahan the "memory infrastructure" developed from the city's past long life, collected within the vast number of existing historic monuments, narrowed the arena on memory construction through heritage invention.

Taking the last two paragraphs into account, we may realize that categorizing the relationship between modernization and preservation in only two classes of interaction and contradiction will be ineffective to analyze the history of built environment. In an era that decision-making for urban development involves a certain complexity in dealing with multiple agencies, such as memory, technology, society, economy, and politics, the built environment will not experience only a fixed dichotomy of interaction/contradiction between preservation and modernization. In other words, we should not only consider a spectrum or a "series" of events defined between two poles of interaction and contradiction, but also we should think of "sequences" to be able to analyze and rewrite an authentic history. To clarify and conclude my point I draw on George Kubler's

perception of history explained in his very book, *Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*.

Criticizing art historians' approach, Kubler maintains that the narrative historian always has the privilege of deciding that continuity cuts better into certain lengths than into others. An art historian "is never required to defend his cut, because history cuts anywhere with equal ease and a good story can begin anywhere the teller chooses."¹⁶⁷ He extends that for others who aim beyond narration the question is to find cleavages in history where a cut will separate different types of "happening." From this develops his thesis: we should think of sequences in history rather than series, where different types of events are feasible with no need for having the logic of continuity.¹⁶⁸

My perception of the history of preservation and modernization in future and how their interaction/contradiction will be comes from Kubler's thesis. When I speak of a heterogeneous context narrowing the possibility of ruling on priori grounds, I mean that complexity of agencies which have affected the process and product of the built environment. These agencies, mentioned earlier, sometimes follow the same convergent path they used to, which shapes a "series of events", and sometime may act divergently, which defines "sequences of events" not necessarily relevant to each other. In the current research I discussed the role of one of these agencies, the socio-political geography of place, with respect to the concepts of memory, religion, and creative destruction. As we observed, the overthrown of Pahlavi dynasty in 1979 depicted a "sequence" of history as opposed to the narrative series of events. Thus, we should look at future with both attitudes towards history: a combination of series and sequences developed from

¹⁶⁷ George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. (New Haven: Yale University, 1979): 2.

¹⁶⁸ Kubler based this argument on the fact that speech matters more than writing, because speech precedes writing, and because writing is but a special case of speech. Then he develops this argument to correspond speech with "sequences" and writing with "series." Ibid, 31

preservation's and modernization's relationships which may fit within the meaning of the terms "interaction and contradiction." Or even beyond that, in future, we may need new words to replace these terms to be able to write the history of preservation and modernization.

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